

FORUM

In Czechoslovakia To-day : Gordon Skilling

Is It Hearst's Death Rattle? : Frank Fraser

Education By Radio : : : : E. A. Corbett

Caven Atkins : : : : Graham C. McInnes

THE CANADIAN FORUM

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Our Contributors

E. A. CORBETT, is Director of the Canadian Association for Adult Education.

FRANK FRASER, is a Toronto newspaperman, a member of the Newspaper Guild. Much of the information is from a former Toronto reporter, who is now one of the Chicago strikers.

WILLIAM C. KEIRSTEAD, is Professor of Philosophy in the University of New Brunswick.

GORDON SKILLING, whose previous articles on Czechoslovakia will be remembered, is still living in that country.

JOHN G. WITHALL, is a welcome new contributor from Bishop's College, Lennoxville, Quebec.

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THE CANADIAN FORUM

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The Bren Gun in the House

MR. Grant McNeil, on behalf of the C.C.F. group, brought the question of the Bren Gun contract up in the House by a demand for tabling the evidence, by a speech on the Address in reply which put the issue ably, and finally by a motion to refer the whole matter of the contract to the committee on public accounts where further information can effectively be sought. This last was on February 2nd. Some debate was desirable at this stage, but if since then the matter has taken up an inordinate amount of Parliamentary time, the responsibility must lie with the Conservative party. The McNeil motion would have passed without debate but for Dr. Manion's objection. Then came his amendment to cancel the contract. This was ruled out of order, and the ruling sustained by Liberal votes against all opposition groups. Another amendment by Mr. Stevens followed, asking for discussion by the whole House in Committee. When at last this too was lost—it was supported by the Conservatives only—the original C.C.F. motion was passed unanimously, on February 13th.

The Liberal Machine Speaks

THE questions raised in debate were substantially those we outlined last month: upon what grounds, other than political patronage, was the Hahn-Plaxton group chosen? Why was Hahn pressed upon the British government? Why hasty and misleading recommendation of this "reliable group" to the British government, and by Mr. Hugh Plaxton to the Prime Minister? Why the browbeating of the Interdepartmental Committee by General Lafleche? Why a contract that allowed financial manipulation of stock to net the promoters, it is said, a million dollars?

No answer was given to any of those questions. Not a single Liberal speaker even admitted their existence, in spite of the fact that they have been asked by the more reputable press—including Liberal papers such as *The Winnipeg Free Press*

—right across the country. That kind of defensive attitude may argue a well oiled party machine, but it is not, and cannot be, convincing. Most government speakers were satisfied to repeat the Commissioner's finding that there was no evidence of corruption (which was never challenged) and then to bait their opponents. They simply refused to face the issue. Depressing in them all, this official blindness is positively disheartening in such men as the Minister of Labor whose many years of academic life should at least be a guarantee of intellectual integrity.

Mackenzie Must Go

THE Minister for National Defence himself, on February 9th, scored what must be an all time record for insolent, insulting vulgarity and unparliamentary language. And the Speaker, at times, remained strangely deaf. Before he had the excuse of a single interruption, Mr. Mackenzie set about calling his opponents names; "splenetic dominie," "quibbling romancer," "Prussian mentality," "the gentleman has never been loyal to party or principle," "aggregation of red flaggers," "the semi-communist wing," and the like, not to mention those expressions which he later managed to have struck off the record.

The key to his speech can be found in one sentence: "I am trying to defend Canada and you are doing your damndest to prevent me." He then went on to extol his own "loyal Scotch descent," to praise his own conduct as "honest, honourable, and devoted wholly to the public service and the public interest," to frighten the public by talk of "sinister influences" and a cry to rally round "after these malicious, vicious and meretricious attacks." But not one single word that was to the point.

"Prussian mentality" is evidently not a matter of ancestry. This bullying performance is almost a sufficient proof that the speaker is unworthy of a high position, at least in a democracy.

But the other charges remain: incompetence and negligence at least, exclusive contracts hand-

ed out as patronage, deliberate misrepresentation of facts in answer to questions in the House. The last is proved, (see July and December Forum), the others have not been disproved, indeed no real defence against them has been made. The Government cannot retain both its Minister of Defence and the confidence even of its own supporters in the country. The choice should be easy.

The Prime Minister

MR. King's feeling during this performance can be guessed. Needless to say, his own remarks have remained wholly free from violence and rudeness. Indeed, except for an explanation of how and why the Commission was appointed, he has said practically nothing at all, has made no speech to justify the award of the contract.

His own connection with the case comes where Major Hahn was appointed by him as representative of the Canadian Government in London for the purpose of acquiring secret information from the War Office regarding the Bren Gun. On this point Mr. King is touchy, and whenever it was mentioned in the House he insisted on the restricted nature of this representation. It is strange indeed that a prospective contractor should be made the government's representative to any extent at all. Yet we cannot but sympathise with Mr. King. A Prime Minister is a busy man and he must be able to rely on his Ministers, even in important decisions. His own words: "As Secretary of State for External Affairs I passed on to the High Commissioner in London the wishes of the Minister of National Defence in this matter" (Hansard p. 710), are not altogether satisfactory but the really dubious point is why the Minister of Defence should have wished anything of the kind. Besides, the Report implies that things were kept from Mr. King at more than one stage as negotiations developed.

Follow-My-Leadership League

SO that was it! Mr. George McCullagh's broadcasts were to lead to the formation of a Leadership League. Its immediate result (not mentioned) should be to enable the editor of the Globe and Mail to buy time on a national hook-up. Its further purposes are somewhat vague: "Restoring Democracy—Reducing Taxation—Putting Canadians Back to Work." The first and third are meaningless without closer definition of the objects and means. As for the second, the amount of taxation means little, it is the way the money is spent that is important. Apparently the League

is to work out its own platform but there is a threat that if politicians will not do what the League tells them a new party may be formed. But Mr. McCullagh's own speeches contained suggestions: abolition of provincial governments, which is neither possible nor desirable, national government, etc. This vision of a one-party (or rather one capitalist party) government, together with the emphasis on Leadership rather than policy, is the dangerous aspect of this proposal. There is much truth in Mr. McCullagh's accusations of ineffectiveness and patronage, but all this follow-my-leadership ballyhoo will not get us anywhere. The Leadership League, we predict, will either be a damp squib or a danger to the community.

There is no fee, but there is clearly much money. An organization must be judged by the interests that stand behind it, by the definiteness of its program, by the democratic nature of its activities. We do not doubt Mr. McCullagh's devotion to his idea of democracy. But we doubt if it is ours or that of our readers.

Any Stick Is Good Enough

SOME sixty transients were standing at street corners in downtown Toronto, with tin cans and appropriate posters, appealing for funds to passers-by. They had formed an organization, and had the Minister of Labour himself not told them private charity would look after them? They were promptly arrested on a charge of vagrancy. For various reasons, however, the case against them was not strong, so new charges were found, namely of aiding and assisting an unemployment charity not licensed by the municipality. This offence is no part of the Criminal Code, nor will it be found in the Statute law of the Ontario Legislature.

It was created and made punishable by a fine from five to five hundred dollars, and in default by imprisonment, by the Ontario Cabinet (Ontario Gazette 1931, pp. 4-6). The authority of the Cabinet to create such offences and impose punishment therefor is supposed to be conferred by the Department of Public Welfare Act, 1931. This makes charitable organizations subject to the Minister of Public Welfare, and enables the Cabinet to make regulations relating to charitable institutions, particularly in the procuring of funds.

No doubt legislative power must be delegated today, and some talk too lightly of the "new despotism;" but the serious power of defining and creating new offences for which men can be arrested, fined and imprisoned should not be left

to Executives and Cabinets. The creation of vague new crimes by the executive branch of the government is one of the most potent weapons in the armoury of Fascism, and has no place in a democracy. It would be only too easy to pass an infinite variety of regulations concealed in gazettes and other inaccessible sources which could readily be produced as instruments of oppression when occasion demands. As a matter of fact none of the organized charities at the moment bother about employing permits.

The legal validity of these regulations is very doubtful; they were not tested in this case, as the charges were withdrawn, after the matter was mentioned in Parliament. But here is a danger point that must be watched by believers in civil liberties.

The Refugee Problem

THE number of people living in utter misery and facing violent death or gradual extinction in Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia (where the government is facing an impossible burden in this connection) is probably about one and a half million, of whom at least one third are not Jews—if that makes any difference. The Western powers have of late been seriously concerned with the decline in the numbers of their population. Here is an excellent chance to offset that decline, but they are not taking it. Our own population of 11 million is certainly not large in proportion to our natural resources, on any calculation, even under our present utterly wasteful economic system.

The arguments against admitting refugees are mostly economic, but racial and national prejudice, though less vocal, is probably the more powerful factor. It seems to us less important to preserve the preponderance of British (or French) blood, than to preserve the spirit of liberty and democracy, and few better helpers in that struggle could be found than the victims of despotism. Racial exclusiveness is no less stupid in Canada than it is in Germany and Italy.

The economic argument: that every refugee not provided for would deprive a Canadian of his job, is fallacious. The British Home Secretary said in November that the settlement of 11,000 German refugees in England recently had provided, directly, employment for 15,000 British working men. Many of the refugees have talents and techniques badly wanted in this country.

At present, however, as the question was raised in the House by two C.C.F. members, Mr. Coldwell and Mr. Heaps, the government is not even asked to admit the most unfortunate, but only those who

are guaranteed not to become a public charge. It is not doing so. Surely such restrictions must be removed, and at once, for a reasonable quota at least. The present policy is an utter disgrace to an allegedly Christian country.

But that is not enough, either here or elsewhere. If the struggle against Fascism is a reality, let us then provide for the relief of casualties, as we do in war. Governments should set aside a sum equivalent to a minimum of two percent of their military expenditures to be expended on the temporary care of refugees. And it were well if Canada, perhaps the safest country in the world from a military point of view, were, for once, to set an example, instead of lagging far behind.

Fascism Marches On

IN commenting upon the Anglo-Italian Pact in our May issue of last year we pointed out that the British Government aimed "to make sure that British interests would be protected by Franco AFTER his victory" and that it was "very unlikely that Mussolini will even try to honour his word to seek no privileged economic position in Spain. After all, what has he been fighting for?"

Now that the conquest of Catalonia and the continued starving of the Spanish government by "non-intervention" is making a Franco victory inevitable, this aspect of British policy has come out in the open. While Mr. Chamberlain still officially expresses faith in Mussolini's promise to withdraw his troops from Spain as soon as hostilities cease, we find a British cruiser helping Franco to occupy Minorca and hear of machinations to counteract Italian influence by promises of economic help. The success of this rather dirty game is at least doubtful, for it is not clear that Franco wants to get rid of the Italians. Nor is economic domination what it used to be; Franco may well accept loans without honouring pledges in return.

Meanwhile the fall of Barcelona is celebrated in Rome as an Italian triumph. Italian troops are increased in Libya and Tripoli in direct contravention of the Anglo-Italian pact, no doubt to back Mussolini's claims against France. Japan occupies Hainan and directly threatens British and French interests in the East. Hitler is meditating where to strike next. And France, with Fascist troops on its Spanish as well as its German and Italian frontiers, is immobilised. Mr. Chamberlain obstinately continues to play his part making Europe Fascist—which is the price he is paying for his deliberate betrayal of collective security and the League of Nations. What will the next instalment be?

The Padlock—New Style

E. A. FORSEY

ON December 31, the Quebec Provincial Police issued its report for 1938. On May 10, it may be recalled, it had announced that in the preceding six months it had made 124 raids and seizures, and confiscated 532 books and pamphlets and 6,500 copies of the *Clarion* and *Clarte*. The annual report does not state the number of raids, but the pace has evidently quickened considerably since May, for the seizures for the whole year number: 54,369 papers, 39,317 reviews and books, 23,102 circulars, 15,000 assorted pamphlets and 4,900 buttons and badges. The total number of padlocks applied during the year was ten. Not one person has been arrested or charged with any offence under the Act, not even Mr. Lessard, who was dealt with under the Criminal Code. In other words, not one of the victims has had a chance to defend himself in open court: a fact of which Mr. Duplessis and his police actually boast, as proof of their clemency!

The application of the Act, however, is meeting with more and more opposition and arousing more and more vigorous protests. In the last two provincial by-elections, the provincial Liberal party officially denounced it, and Montreal, in the municipal elections, administered a resounding defeat to the Duplessis candidate for Mayor. So the government has adopted a new technique, best described by a phrase of Professor Laski's, "pre-natal control." The first example was of course the Lithuanian school (see December Forum). Since then, the Provincial Police have threatened to padlock ten dwellings unless the owners evicted their tenants; in several cases they set a "deadline." The police indignantly deny that they have "threatened" the landlords. They call it "advice." The fact remains that ten Canadian citizens, seven of them French-Canadians, will be thrown into the street without even the formality of padlocking, if the police have their way. For if they seek shelter elsewhere in the province their new landlords will doubtless receive the same "advice." Otherwise the policy is completely pointless. As the Civil Liberties Union puts it, "The police are apparently determined to create a condition in which landlords will fear to lease premises to tenants who have not been approved by the Provincial Police." Fortunately the authorities seem for the moment to have got cold feet; perhaps the prompt publicity was more than they had bargained for. At any rate, up to February 9, none of the threatened padlockings has taken place. In some cases the police gave the

landlord only three days to carry out their behest. In one, they insisted that the landlord should (1) file an affidavit that he had rented his premises "in good faith," not knowing that they would be used for "Communist" purposes, (2) evict the tenant, and (3) give a pledge that the premises would not in future be used for such purposes (always, be it remembered, undefined). Not long after sending the landlord a letter to this effect, they assured the Civil Liberties Union, also by letter, that there was no intention of padlocking the premises in question and that padlocks were never applied unless the tenant was "propagating Communism:" a nice piece of official equivocation.

The police have also begun to try the same tricks on the People's Committee against Anti-Semitism and Racism and the Civil Liberties Union itself. On January 7, the former held a concert in the Monument National. A few days before that date it received word from the proprietors of the hall that the Provincial Police had warned them that the concert must not take place except on condition that there were no speeches of any kind and that Mrs. Popovitch did not sing. The reason given for the second condition was that Mrs. Popovitch was "the wife of a Communist." The Civil Liberties Union some little time ago approached the Mount Royal Hotel to rent it a public room for a meeting. It was informed that there was no room available "from now on." Since then the other leading hotels, with suspicious unanimity, have made it clear that the same holds good for them.

But Mr. Duplessis, like Gallio, cares for none of these things. On January 9, he appeared before the Montreal Canadian Club and brazenly challenged "anyone to point to one abuse" committed under the Padlock Act. Beginning with horrific references to the Dies committee and articles in *Liberty*, and "what has happened recently in France, . . . the speeches of the President and Premier and others, and everyone getting together, even Radicals and Socialists, against the common foe of Communism," he proceeded:

"Let other provinces do what each province wishes to do, let Canada do what Canada wishes to do, but in the province of Quebec there is no room for Communism and if there is no room there is no house and if the room is bad the house should be padlocked . . . If a man got up on a platform and proclaimed the necessity of murder, . . . is there any decent country in the world where this man would not be obliged not only to retract and stop talking such things but even go to jail? And what is Communism if it is not the worst murder in the world—the murder of the body, the murder

of the soul, the murder of the heart and the murder of the intelligence? What does the Padlock Law state? It gives to the Attorney-General . . . the right when he deems that there is sufficient proof that Communism is being practised in certain places, and more particularly when it is being preached to youth rather than to older people who might understand . . . to padlock such a place . . . Is it not a fact, gentlemen, that when there is what is called tuberculosis, and by the way, T. B. represents Tim Buck—you spend a lot of money not only to cure it but to try and prevent it? Why not the same thing for the T.B. of the brain and the heart which is much more dangerous than the T.B. of the body? . . . What do we do when there is smallpox? We quarantine a person or a house if there is an epidemic, and nobody kicks. Smallpox is only a little thing on the face, Communism is something affecting the heart and the brain. Don't you think that house should be quarantined too? . . . We don't arrest the man; we padlock the house; we keep the liberty of the man. . . . In this province . . . the danger of Communism is over . . . We have positive proof that the danger was real and imminent. . . . If Canada does not want to make a fight, . . . Quebec, in this field as in other fields, will be the one to show the light and be the bulwark of law and order and common sense."

One hardly knows what to admire most in this performance; the suggestion that "Canada" is a foreign power, the beauty of Mr. Duplessis' metaphors, the sparkle of his epigrams, the accuracy of his medical knowledge on the subject of smallpox, or the precision of his definitions of Communism. Murder, tuberculosis and smallpox: even Herr Hitler will feel envious when he reads this speech. Perhaps he will invite Quebec to join the Anti-Comintern Pact.

This clowning was received with positive rapture by Montreal's two great (?) English newspapers. The Gazette, in its customary fashion, devoted three-quarters of a column to quotations from the Holy Words, interlarded with pious ejaculations, the whole concluding with:

"The head of the Quebec Government is to be commended upon the character of his address, upon the substance of it, and particularly upon the success which its (sic) measures have achieved. Quebec does not want Communism. The Quebec Government will not tolerate it."

The Star, also characteristically, let itself go with a whoop:

"A logical, forceful and in more ways than one, an unanswerable argument. We must accept Mr. Duplessis' assurance when he tells us that he has got positive proof that the danger from Communism was real and imminent. . . . We must also accept—and the public of Quebec will do so with genuine relief and satisfaction—the Premier's declaration that the danger is now over. He attributes this to the application of the Padlock Law, and he is in the best position of anybody in the province to know the actual facts . . . The Premier's plea against the confusion of the exercise of right and free speech with the abuse of both was another pungent point in a speech full of driving arguments. It is against this abuse—the masking, under the guise of free speech, of speech subversive of law and order, goodwill and peace, honour and all that makes for a united and happy community—that he is guarding the province. . . . The citizens of Quebec will feel the safer in the knowledge that the Premier

is as resolute as ever to fight against such a danger with all the energy and vigilance at his command. As he rightly says, this is Quebec's affair."

Why, if the "danger" is over the Act is being applied with increasing rigour and frequency neither Mr. Duplessis nor his clique deigns to explain. As a matter of fact, at the time the Act was passed, there were according to Father Bryan (one of Montreal's leading Red-baiters) slightly less than 900 Communists in Montreal. Assuming that there were as many more in the rest of the province (which not even the Premier has had the temerity to suggest) would mean that approximately 57/1000 of one per cent. of the population was Communist. That was the "danger," "real and imminent," to combat which it is necessary to pass a law condemned in the most scathing terms by a committee of the Canadian Bar Association! Reliable information now indicates that there are several hundred MORE Communists in Montreal than there were in 1937. Perhaps Mr. Duplessis' "driving arguments" are not so "unanswerable," nor his measures so "successful," after all?

Requiem In Brass

(For the Passing of an Empire)

The spheres this hour
Sing a deep requiem
For the passing of an epoch
Called Great.

In some scented Eastern place
Where centuries trek leisurely,
Generations of Freemen
Will chant legends
Of the corroded West;
How Sultan after Sultan abode his little
hour
In pomp and splendor
And then passed on;
How one went reluctantly,
With tarnished bits of gold,
Moth-eaten ermine, and faded purple
velvet
Clutched in his hand.

The writing is on the wall!
And the hollow sound of brass cymbals
Played by a gaunt old man
Echoes down Tradition's empty vault,
While at the wall surge
The Yellow, the Black, and the Brown,
The Slav, and the Slave,
Beating the door down.

—MARGUERITE ABRAMS-WYCKE.

Is It Hearst's Death Rattle?

FRANK FRASER

THE mere fact that you are fighting the evil influence Hearst has so long exerted on the American press would itself win for you the sympathy of all liberal-minded people; but the circumstances in which your fight is being waged make it all the more essential that you should secure the warm support of all persons of good will."

Harold J. Laski, professor of political science at the University of London and now lecturing at the University of Washington, wrote that recently to a group of 500-odd employees of William Randolph Hearst who have been on strike since Dec. 5, 1938, against his two Chicago papers, the *Evening American* and the *Herald-Examiner*.

The *New World*, weekly organ of the Roman Catholic archdiocese of Chicago, of which Cardinal Mundelein is the spiritual leader, began a front-page editorial thus: "A happy and a blessed Christmas to all our readers and a special prayer and word of encouragement to the Hearst employees who are on strike."

Hearst, foe of labor and all things progressive; fomentor of race hatred and bitter nationalism; befouler of journalistic decencies; Hearst has seen his empire shrink of recent years. He has sold newspapers and other properties; he was caught and prevented by the United States government from launching a scheme which might have partially rebuilt his empire upon the crushed bodies of little victims, as at first. It is a question now whether he or a powerful bank holds control of the Chicago newspaper properties, but they still bear the brand of Hearst.

The Chicago Newspaper Guild had a contract, won a year ago by a strike threat after mass firings, with both Hearst's papers there. That contract was violated 87 times in ten months, and every demand for redress was refused. Since last May 1, 120 employees were dismissed, without the consultation the contract specified. When the Chicago Guild learned that a new batch had been marked for firing, it met and voted to strike.

Time magazine devoted nearly a page to the strike, with a photograph of a row of trucks backed up to the sidewalk, their exhausts coughing carbon monoxide at the men and women on the picket line. Merrill J. "Monoxide" Meigs, it called the publisher of the *American*.

That was just the beginning of the terror of which striking Hearst employees found themselves the victims. Three days after the strike

had begun, thugs attacked the picket line, auto cranks and lead-filled rubber hose in their hands. Club-wielding police joined them, beat and arrested six men and two women picketers.

Harry Read, once called "my best city editor" by Hearst, and "a real newspaperman" by the late Arthur Brisbane, declared in the *Guild Reporter*, that Hearst had revived the gangsterism which, Read claims, the Lord of San Simeon originally introduced to the city which later produced Capone. In the early 1900's, said Read, gangsters were used against small news stand owners and corner newsboys, in the circulation war which Hearst won largely by those methods. Today they are being used against employees who dared talk back to the Emperor.

Heywood Broun, international president of the Guild, witnessed a sample of Chicago's police tactics. When police hauled a Guildsman out of the picket line, Broun and Richard Seller, Guild international representative, protested. The blue-coats didn't touch Broun, but dragged Seller round a corner, punched him in the jaw and threatened to arrest him. Broun kept on protesting until both were released.

Less than two weeks after the strike commenced, publishers of both papers made it a lockout by announcing that they would refuse to deal collectively with the strikers, and were replacing them with "permanent" employees. With the sanction of President William Green, the reactionary element of the American Federation of Labor in Chicago set up three "unions" and got them a joint charter to organize in the field already planted by the Guild, an affiliate of the Congress of Industrial Organizations. The Hearst management has been found guilty of violating the Wagner Act for its share in that step.

Printers, under contracts with no provisions against handling struck work, are still working, but when the Hearst management claimed that the whole affair was simply a quarrel between them and the Guild, Local 16 of the International Typographical Union, largest local outside New York of that strong A.F.L. union, emphatically denied that there was any quarrel.

For some weeks now an A.F.L. committee, headed by Prof. George E. Extelle, national vice-president of the American Federation of Teachers, and Merle Simpkins, an officer of the Typographical local, has actively aided the strikers by picketing, speaking and organizing boycotts of

firms who refuse to withdraw their advertising from the unfair papers.

The boycott has proved so effective that by February 15th, 216 advertisers had withdrawn, and circulation had been cut 215,000.

Actually, the lifeblood of the struck papers is the large out-of-town circulation of the Chicago Sunday Herald-Examiner, 1,600 copies of which are distributed each week from Toronto alone. Toronto Guildsmen, other trade unionists and friends of labor are urging dealers who handle the "Herex" to quit it until the strike is settled; they are no longer buying Good Housekeeping, Cosmopolitan and other Hearst publications; and are boycotting products made by firms which persist in advertising in the unfair Chicago papers, writing the firms' U.S. headquarters to tell them why.

Toronto District Trades and Labour Council, representing 45,000 A.F.L. and C.I.O. unionists, recently wired the Chicago Hearst management to protest against the discriminatory firings and to "demand amends for injustices by signing and adhering to new agreement with the Newspaper Guild." Moved by a Toronto Guild delegate, seconded by Frank Smith, president of the Building

Trades Council (A.F.L.), it was passed unanimously.

Contributions to the strike, which cost the Guild \$4,000 a week—and costs Hearst plenty more than that—have been received from Toronto and Montreal and from unions and labor sympathizers from coast to coast in the United States. Tom Mooney gave \$5 of his \$10 "coming-out" money when he was released from San Quentin penitentiary; the other \$5 went in support of an A.F.L. department store strike in San Francisco.

This may well be Hearst's last stand, and his departure from the field of journalism would unquestionably leave the air cleaner and freer. It is not merely the struggle of the Newspaper Guild, or of organized labor; it is the struggle of decency and civilization, and everyone who believes in them has a personal interest in it.

In the words of George Seldes, great crusading journalist: "You can count on me as having been in your fight from the beginning. It is not only a matter of fighting Hearst in Chicago and elsewhere; it is a matter of everyone who believes in democracy and progress and the advancement of civilization joining in the general war on obscurantism and reaction, the ultimate form of which is Fascism."

In Czechoslovakia Today

GORDON SKILLING

CZECHOSLOVAKIA is just now able to breathe again and look about her at the extent of her losses. Even a nation whose population was reduced from three million to eight hundred thousand by the Thirty Years War must be appalled by the havoc caused by three short conferences in Munich, Berlin and Vienna. The area of the Czechoslovak republic diminished from 140,500 to 99,000 square kilometres, i.e. almost 30 percent. The population has fallen from about 14,729,500 to 9,807,000, i.e. by 33.4 percent. The number of Czechs in the state has declined by 11.7 percent, the number of Slovaks by 12.9 percent. Of forty-one cities with a population greater than 20,000, twenty were lost.

Still more serious are the losses in industrial wealth. Of 150 brown coal mines, producing 18 million tons in 1937, only 11 mines producing a little over one million tons, are left in the Republic. Similarly of 73 anthracite coal mines, 43 remain, with a loss in tonnage of coal produced of about 57 percent. In the textile industry, about 54 percent of all factories were lost, not counting 14,543 places of home production, in the glass industry 60 percent of all factories, in the toy industry 60 percent, in musical instruments 75

percent, in the steel industry 40 percent, the paper industry 33 percent and so on. In the Czech lands, (Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia), almost 30 percent of the railroad mileage was lost, together with 2307 schools with the Czech language, 1100 post-offices and 800 telephone stations, not to speak of countless other public buildings and branches of banks, clubs, trade unions, etc.

The losses in agriculture and agricultural industry are serious, although less catastrophic, over 30 percent of the breweries were lost, almost 15 percent of the distilleries, almost 20 percent of cooperative or private dairies, and over 8 percent of the sugar refineries; the most serious were tobacco about 70 percent, hops 60 percent, and forest wealth, in the Czech lands, 40 percent.

It is estimated that the taxing capacity of the Republic has been diminished by 40 percent.

Even these figures give only a cloudy picture of the full effects of the territorial changes on the economic structure. What the indirect results will be in employment, public finance, balance of trade and standard of living will be known only after the passing of some months. But the results of this profound economic dislocation can already be seen in the political field. Diplomatic isolation

and economic collapse prepared the way for the coup d'etat by the Right in both the Czech lands and Slovakia. In Slovakia which emerged for the first time in 1918 from a thousand years of complete political and economic subjection to Hungary, it was easier for the reactionary elements to realize their totalitarian objectives. In the Czech lands, where freedom was attained in 1918 after a century of continual democratic struggle against Austrian social and political oppression, the democratic spirit of the masses was not so easily tamed or broken.

SLOVAKIA

In Slovakia the sole bearer of political power is the Hlinka People's Party, which right up until the final catastrophe had fought side by side with the Henlein Sudeten German Party against the Czechoslovak "regime," under the banner of Slovak autonomy. One week after Munich, all the centralist parties, (Agrarians, Czech National Socialists, etc.), voluntarily capitulated to the Hlinka Party and at the Zilina conference, a draft of far-reaching autonomy for Slovakia was agreed upon and had to be accepted by the Prague government as worse dangers threatened from outside. Without waiting for the constitutional changes involved in the granting of Slovak autonomy, the new Slovak government proceeded towards its avowed aim of totalitarianism. Their first act was to dissolve the Communist Party. The Social Democrats, who, after being excluded from the Zilina conference, had later ratified the Zilina agreement, suffered the same fate. Step by step the way was laid for the 97.5 percent "plebiscite" election of December 18th. All gymnastic societies, (including the Sokols), and Masonic Lodges were dissolved; uniformed Hlinka guards and Slovak councils were established as a kind of secondary state, government commissars were introduced in the editorial offices of all newspapers, several concentration camps were set up, the civil service was purged of democratic elements, small parties were dissolved, including the Protestant Autonomist party. The former Henlein member of parliament Karmasin was appointed State Secretary for German affairs. Small wonder that the single Slovak party electoral list, including some German and Hungarian candidates, but NO CZECHS, swept the field in true totalitarian style.

Having created this sham political unity, the Slovak government must now turn to the more difficult task of solving the economic problems of the Slovak people. The Prime Minister, Dr. Tiso, in a recent speech, said: "The new Slovakia is not against capital, but is against unscrupulous capitalists who wish to keep Slovakia further in slavery." The key to this statement is found in the

anti-semitism of the Hlinka movement. One of the targets of the party's propaganda has been the Jewish community, who are accused of holding the Slovak people in bondage and exploitation. This attack on Jewish capitalism will probably exhaust the social radicalism of the Slovak party. Official spokesmen have already given many assurances to private enterprise, and have made clear that the cooperation of Czech and Reich German capital will be welcomed in the industrialization of Slovakia. The establishment of some form of corporate state, defended by many of the Slovak leaders as a manifestation of Christianity, may quite likely be the next step. This economic policy may certainly have the desired effect of industrializing Slovakia with the help of foreign capital, thus increasing industrial employment and decreasing seasonal and permanent emigration. But it provides no concrete plan of protection for the workers and peasants and seems to be the very opposite to the loudly-proclaimed liberation of Slovakia from foreign economic exploitation. The peasantry may find that the decline of the population of the republic has diminished his market and the prices of his grain, and may feel inclined to refuse to pay his taxes to Bratislava just as the Hlinka propagandists incited him to refuse to pay Prague. The workers may find that, having lost their main protections: the trade union and the democratic workers parties, the assertion of the Golden Rule will carry little weight with German capitalists, or even Slovak capitalists for that matter. One is entitled to expect that cracks of discontent will soon begin to appear in the momentary polish of unity. In the meantime these who will really gain are the middle-classes—on the one hand, the small shopkeepers who are glad to see the windows of their many Jewish competitors broken in, and the candidates for posts as civil servants, teachers, lawyers, doctors, judges, etc., who see a rosy future through the expansion of the provincial state apparatus and the exclusion of former Czechs, Jews and "unreliable" Slovaks from these fields. The government has just taken the first step in this latter direction by relieving nine thousand Czech lower officials from their duties in Slovakia. Even here the pace must be slower than many would like, because, as the Slovak Chief of Propaganda admitted, "Nature abhors a vacuum." It is officially admitted that at least 30,000 Czechs are still employed in the government service in Slovakia, and about the same number in private service.

THE CZECH LANDS

In Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, (we shall call them for convenience the Czech lands) the simpli-

fication of party relations and of setting up a new regime took exactly two months. The formation of the Beran government on December 1st marked the end of a dangerous period of uncertainty and fluidity*.

The malaise that prevailed after Munich seemed to provide the golden chance for those totalitarian elements who have been repudiated time after time in free elections of the past.

But "the people remained the same." The peasantry which was the backbone of the Agrarian party stood firm, untouched by the epidemic of coat-turning among Prague intellectuals and officials. The workers in Prague, Brno, etc.—the rank and file of the three Socialist parties—quietly proceeded to forge united trade unions from the old party unions. Hampl, the leader of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party, (which had resigned from the Socialist International after Munich), issued a manifesto announcing the formation of the National Party of the Working People, a new party, distinct from the old, embracing all workers with hand and brain "who are concerned with the strengthening and improvement of the democratic order of our state and with the introduction of gradual social reforms." The manifesto stressed the necessity of two parties, if the democratic system was to be maintained and asserted its intention of defending the socially weak. Hampl made it clear that the New Party of the Working People did not intend "to conduct class war," but was ready to cooperate loyally in the reconstruction of the state. This offer of collaboration was accepted by the prime minister, Beran, in his public utterances, although a warning was implicit in his statement that "no political movement would be tolerated which did not have its roots in our soil" and "did not grow out of the national consciousness of our nation." The parties of the centre had favored the establishment of one great National Party, where the extreme right would be subjected to the will of the Left and Centre and the Benes policy maintained. Now confronted with a choice between Right and Left and a warning from the Right that continued domestic discussion would bring intervention from abroad, the

* The Beran Government has two kinds of ministers: those who are common to the whole Republic (Beran, Chvalkovsky, Kalfus, Syrový, and Sidor), and those whose competence extends only to the Czech lands (Beran, Kalfus, Sadek, Feierabend, etc.). Thus while Slovakia has now its own parliament and completely distinct government, the Czech lands have as yet no parliament and a government not clearly distinguishable from the Central government of the Republic. In this article it has not been possible to separate the plans and the actions of the Beran as Czech, and as Czecho-Slovak, prime minister.

National Socialists (Benes party) accepted the National Unity Party proposed by the Right—though they thereby lost great sections of the rank and file to the Working People's Party. The Catholic Party followed. This mechanical amalgamation includes fascists and democrats, Catholic and free-thinkers, Benes supporters and Benes slanderers. It holds a parliamentary majority and its manifesto sketches only certain broad principles upon which its component elements agree: creative nationalism, authoritarian democracy, a foreign policy of collaboration with all states, especially neighbouring states, maintenance of private enterprise and property, social reforms, and a national and religious system of education, imbued with the Christian tradition of St. Wenceslas. It remains to be seen whether or not Beran, party leader and prime minister, will be able to apply concretely these elastic principles and satisfy all the elements of his own party and the "loyal" opposition. Time alone will show whether he will tolerate any serious criticism of his policy by the Party of the Working Class, and whether the Slovak Totalitarian Party will not insist on the dissolution of this opposition, which in the December debates sharply attacked the totalitarian and anti-Czech policy of the Slovak government. Neither Beran nor the Slovak regime could force a totalitarian system on the Czech lands, if only domestic factors were concerned. The fascist clique in the Party of National Unity, however, are counting, not on winning power, but on having power given to them through the good graces of Hitler. In the meantime the decision is postponed. The Beran government has been endowed for two years with special emergency powers to amend the constitution and issue urgent decrees. The main issue of the year ahead will be "the maintenance of this partial absolutism, cloaked in constitutionalism, or the establishment of naked absolutism?"

The Beran government in its dual capacity as Czech and Czecho-Slovak government faces two serious types of economic problems. Firstly, it must find a solution for the urgent problem of employing 100,000 unemployed, 140,000 German and Czech refugees from the Sudete regions, and 70,000 civil servants, teachers, railway workers, etc. (60,000 from the Sudete land, and 10,000 from Slovakia). Beran is relying chiefly on the National Aid, a governmental system of charity, to care for the unfortunate throughout the winter months. For the spring the government promises further schemes of public works, especially the building of an east-west national speedway and the canal connecting the Danube, Oder and Elbe rivers; it is also preparing a decree requiring municipal offices to employ some Czech officials

who lost their jobs through the loss of territory. For the refugees on non-Czech nationality, (i.e. Germans and Jews in particular), the government has made clear there will be no permanent home in this country, though it has declared there will be no "hostile policy" towards Jews who have been long resident in the Republic and have had a "positive relationship" to the state.

It is in the sphere of social policy that the sharpest differences of opinion within the government party and with the opposition are likely to be revealed. Beran described his policy as the best means of assuring the foreign market of Czechoslovak products and of stabilizing the present social order. Necas, former Minister of Labour and the chief opposition speaker in the parliamentary debate on the government policy, praised the government's plan for the provision of work but stressed the necessity of raising the standard of life of the working class through collective bargaining. Professor Macek, in the opening congress of the National Party of the Working People, declared that the opposition considered the present economic system "in principle faulty," and sought structural changes to prevent privilege and exploitation. He also criticized the theory of providing work for Czechs at the expense of Germans or Jews, or for men, at the cost of women, and asserted the necessity of providing work for all.

Finally, there is the broader question of the future economic orientation of Czechoslovakia, having lost a large part of its industrial wealth to Germany and Poland. Is Czechoslovakia, under the regime of Beran, former Agrarian leader, to become the agricultural colony of the Third Reich? Beran's first statements as Prime Minister, (Dec. 3rd and 13th) declared that "the balance of agricultural and industrial production must be maintained." The ministers concerned have in recent statements given every assurance to private enterprise and promised a cheap credit policy, a suitable taxation policy, commercial propaganda abroad, and so on. Furthermore it is clear that Germany is counting on the incorporation of the Czechoslovak armament industry (Pilzen, Brno and Moravian Ostrau) in the Four Year Plan of German rearmament. There are already signs that Czechoslovakia intends to try to maintain her exports of products which Germany herself will now be exporting from the newly-acquired Sudete German factories. The Czechoslovak Export Institute, whose head has been appointed at the same time Government Commissar in the Czech Broadcasting System, has launched a campaign of propaganda abroad, drawing attention to the continued capacity of Czechoslovakia to produce her former exports. To take but one example,

plans are being made to expand the glass industry, (one third of which remains in any case on Czechoslovak soil), the old name of "Gablonz" glass, which the German industry will retain, has been replaced by the name "Iser," to distinguish it on the world market.

And so develops the Czechoslovak counterpoint. Fascism and Democracy, like two musical themes, are repeated again and again in several variations—in Slovakia, in the Czech lands and in the Republic as a whole.

Dust Patterns After Revolution

Safe now with friends tonight, a thousand miles away,

We turn off the radio to listen to the wind.

And I see again the barricades thrown up

Against the guns, the splintering bullets, the whirling dust.

I hear again the red flag snapping over me,

Nailed to a broom-handle stuck in a barrel,

And I am deafened with the rattle of home-made rifles

And the heavy booming of guns at the end of the street.

These are the brave ones

The factory hands, the clerks, the pick-and-shovel men

Fighting their unequal battle against the charging white cavalry

That breaks over them like a wave, out-rhymes, out-harmonizes,

Better weaponed, better equipped, backed by a uniform tradition.

And in the morning, on the sea-shore, on the cold dry sand,

Where the wind treads down the dune grass and the brittle reeds

And the sand-hills smoke with flung dust at their peaks,

I feel my hand hurt where I lean on it, and I look at it

And see the pattern of the sand and grass imprinted on the palm.

And I wonder if my face, if my mind bear that same pattern

Pressed with the heavy pressure of the earth from where I came.

Now all things combine to uncombine, all counsel disintegration,

Scattering lonely thoughts, leaving utter loneliness,

And life itself is but one lonely thought.

—DAVID ANDRADE.

Western Canada In Revolt

WALTER HARWOOD

WESTERN farmers must have experienced sensations of acute mental distress when they read the calm statement on the editorial page of The Winnipeg Tribune (15 Nov. 38): "It is recognized as outside practical politics to consider continuance of the 80-cent minimum (for wheat) unless something happens to improve the world price. Therefore the discussion has shifted to the possibility of continuing the guarantee, but at a lower figure, fifty-five or sixty cents." Since theoretical considerations and statistical evidence converge to the conclusion that increased production and decreased prices lie immediately before us it is evident that the prospects for agriculture are decidedly gloomy.

Even present conditions are sufficiently unhappy in many ways. In Manitoba, for example, despite the excellent crop yield for this year the reduced price of wheat as compared with last year has already made serious inroads into the prosperity of the province. Business anticipations have been disappointed and retail sales are noticeably below the level of last year. But last fall was almost a boom period for Manitoba, so that a decline from that height still leaves sales, despite a certain business quietness, at a reasonably profitable level. The farmer has been able to buy a good deal of machinery. On the other hand he is unable to reduce his debt burdens or to purchase the comforts which he had planned upon. He is scarcely to be blamed if he felt within him a certain disappointment when the crisis of September dissolved into the Munich Peace.

Let us examine the trends of production. Statistics supplied by the Canadian Co-operative Wheat Producers Limited, and based on the best available sources but omitting Russia, China, and Manchuria, show that wheat production has undergone a greatly fluctuating but nevertheless undeniable rise in the last twenty years, and the upward trend of immediately recent years has exhibited a very fair measure of firmness. On the other hand world total net imports have undergone a fluctuating but equally undeniable decline.

When the agricultural statistics of Russia, as supplied by J. Miller in the Left News (December 1938), are added to the other data the picture becomes, from the standpoint of agricultural profit, distinctly darker. The only qualification of this last item is the reported unfavorable state of the winter crop in the U.S.S.R. Rumor even speaks of another famine: "Many store shelves in Moscow are again reported empty. Travelers

from the provinces say that food was scarce even in some rich agricultural sections" (Time, 28 Nov. 38). But even if such statements as these are accepted at their face value they are matched by the U.S.S.R.'s splendid crops of the earlier part of the year, a success testified to by the unanimity of opinion of all sources of information.

The increase in production and the reduction in world trade in wheat mean this blunt fact: that the world carryover of wheat on 31 August, 1939, will be well over a billion bushels.

For the western farmer there remains only one hope: that disaster will descend upon all wheat producers except those of the prairie provinces of Canada. It is a truism that all farmers cannot be prosperous at once, for there are just too many of them, and therefore the prosperity of some can only be secured at the expense of others. Unfortunately a miracle of Old Testament dimensions would be required for the consummation of this happy state. Current crop reports are "favorable" in all directions, except for Poland and Russia. The Munich Peace agreement has brought no peace, and therefore, in anticipation of war, economic self-sufficiency will continue to be pursued by all nations. Also Dr. Abbott of the Smithsonian Institute, the leading expert on this continent on sun spots and their climatic correlations, says that we are entering a period of several years of unprecedented sun spot activity which will be accompanied by high precipitation indexes—which means, of course, bigger and better crops and lower prices and greater agricultural distress.

Under these circumstances the maintenance of an 80-cent price for wheat will possibly cost the Government twice as much next year as this, which means that the figure will threaten to reach the 100 million dollar mark, a threat which may well be realized in fact in 1940—if the price is held up, which of course it will not be. But if it is not held up the result will be nothing less than agricultural calamity. With Mr. King bewildered by his anxiety both to conserve western votes and to serve the economic interests of the major capitalists whose wealth he so much reveres and whose personalities he so much admires, the dominating role will be assumed by Mr. Dunning and other financially orthodox cabinet ministers. Of the three alternatives offered them by Premier Bracken of Manitoba—finding wider markets for wheat, maintaining the 80-cent price, or creating widespread economic and social de-

moralization of Canadian agriculturists—they will dismiss the first because it is diplomatically impossible, reject the second because it is financially unsound, and accept the third because they have no imagination.

The result may be hell to pay—"maybe" instead of "certainly" will be because the notably bovine characteristics of the human animal commonly result in his accepting all forms of treatment, however good or bad, with an apathetic resignation to inevitable fate. But many western

farmers are possessed of the intense belief that without eastern exploitation through tariffs there would be no need for eastern help through subsidies; and if the latter is withdrawn why should he put up with the former? So it may well be that under the lash of distress there will develop among the westerners, merchants and small manufacturers as well as farmers, an organized political movement for cleavage from the east and the establishment of an independent state with its own government and with control over its own destiny.

Forecast

JOHN G. WITHALL

SINCE September and Munich many people have been asking: where do we go from here? No one has yet vouchsafed an answer to this compelling question. Our usual authorities have been so busy having post-mortems on Chamberlain's September antics, that they haven't had time to note the direction in which the world is currently heading. Obviously it is high time we did reflect on present trends and likely developments; when we do we are brought face to face with two eventualities, neither of which is pleasant, but neither of which is impossible or even improbable, and both of which must be recognized.

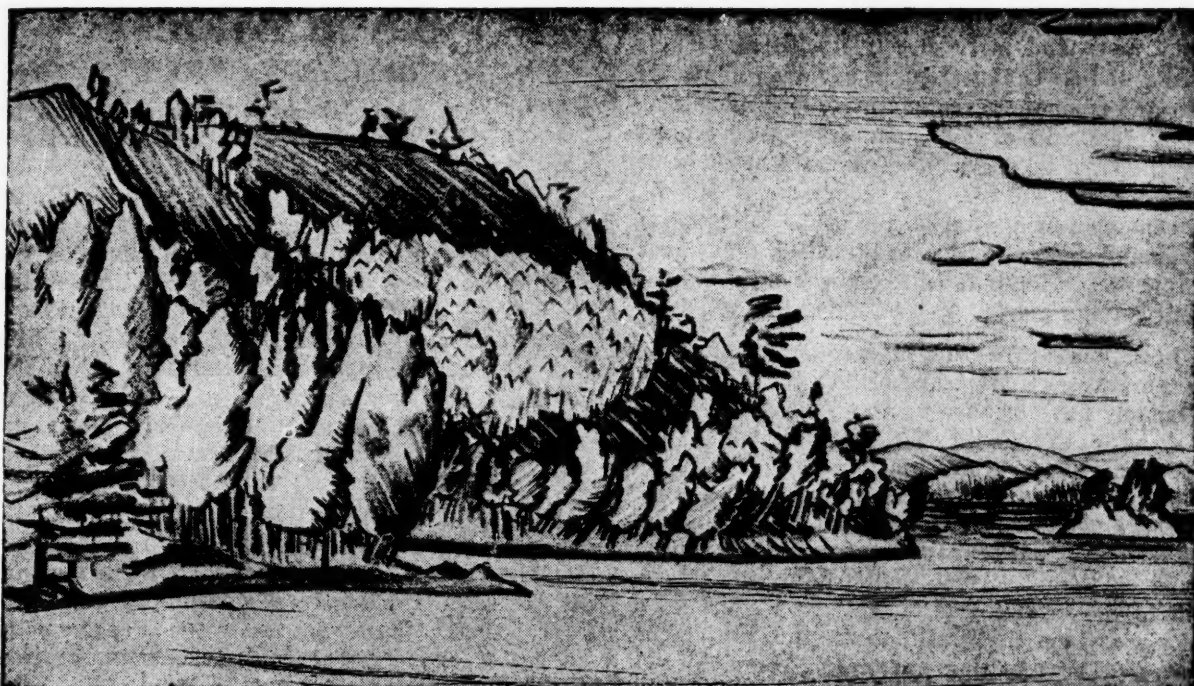
1. The first is that outlined in some detail by the Nazis themselves. I have before me a facsimile of a little card which Nazi propagandists are said to have distributed after the seizure of Austria. It shows graphically step by step the progress of German expansion in Europe from 1938 to 1948. In 1938 the Reich is to take over Austria and Czecho-Slovakia; in 1939 Hungary and Poland in turn are to come under German sway; in 1940 Yugoslavia, Rumania and Bulgaria are to be swallowed up,—and so on ad nauseum. By 1948 Britain and Scandinavia should have been taken. Germany would then control all Europe except Albania, Greece, southern France and eastern Spain which would be under the Duce.

If this carefully arranged and concisely depicted plan is followed, it seems that there should be a clash in the near future between the weak-kneed democracies of France and England, and the unabashed totalitarian states—Italy, Fascist Spain, Germany and probably Japan. If, in this struggle, the Anglo-French combination is defeated, it will be due to the past, present and coming stupidities of French and British "statesmen:" to the finer organization and morale, the fiercer zeal of the Brown-and-Blackshirts; and to the fact that both the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and

the United States would (for very good reasons to be outlined later) hold aloof from the European fracas.

France will then be compelled to sign a peace perhaps more humiliating than that forced on Germany in 1919. (Presumably, Germany will be about as magnanimous in victory as were the Allies.) The French Maginot line will be ceded to Germany and its remarkable defence system turned against its builders. The French army will be reduced to but a shadow of its present size and strength. Britain will be required first of all to quota her exports so as not to compete unduly with German goods on the world market; then to hand over her colonies, protectorates and mandates of any commercial or strategical value to Germany and Italy. These nations will proceed to exploit such territories on a more scientific basis and with less hypocrisy than did the British. Japan will naturally be given most of the valuable French and English possessions in the Orient and the Pacific; she would be further rewarded for her services by being allowed special commercial and political privileges in New Zealand and Australia. Britain and France will be forbidden to possess or to build war-planes. Their existing air-fleets will be divided among Germany, Italy and Japan on a 3-2-1 basis. The bulk of the British navy would be forfeited to Germany. The German people are more provident than the English; they will prevent the sinking and sabotaging of the surrendered ships and will incorporate them into their navy. The Dominions will not be unduly molested; they will be compelled to recognize Italo-German overlordship; will have to extend their most-favoured-nation treaties to Italy and Japan and will be required to make some material and monetary contribution to the Greater Reich's defence.

As already stated, both the U.S.S.R. and the



LAKE OF THE WOODS

—Caven Atkins

U.S. will keep aloof from the European maelstrom. This similarity of stand will tend to bring these two huge nations into closer economic and political relationship. The U.S.S.R. will not become embroiled in the imminent war for these reasons: because of the bitter opposition of British and French Tories to calling in the "Bolsheviks" to assist them—despite the fact that such assistance would mean the very salvation of their respective nations; secondly, because of Russian pique at being constantly maligned and deliberately ignored in the direction of world affairs; and thirdly, because of an understandable dislike to getting involved in a war which is none of their making. The United States' isolationist sentiment, still subscribed to by the great mass of Americans, will play an important part in keeping that nation out of the conflict; a minority of Americans who may unselfishly desire to be saviours of European "democracy" will form a voluntary International Lincoln-Jefferson Brigade; furthermore, feeling justifiably secure in her comparative remoteness from Europe, her large navy and air force, and the support of the South American Republics in the event of a "showdown,"—the United States government will practice a neutrality similar to that it is presently displaying towards China and Government Spain.

Canada, because of her excessive fervour in assisting the Mother Country at first with mater-

ials and then with men, will make herself (thanks to the efforts of a very vocal and powerful minority) particularly obnoxious to the enemy group. Once the war is brought to a successful close the victors may try to punish those Canadians who made themselves conspicuous by their fervid British patriotism and zealous anti-enemy activity. The punishment might consist in expropriating the real and personal property of these individuals and in incarcerating a goodly number of them in concentration camps. Japan may be given minor privileges on the British Columbia coast in the matter of fishing and lumbering rights; perhaps the stringent Canadian regulations vs. Japanese immigration will be rescinded in deference to "diplomatic representations" of the victorious powers. However, the victors would not feel free to go much farther than visiting personal tribulation on the leaders of Canadian opposition to the Fuehrer's and Il Duce's ambitions (if indeed they could go that far) for fear of rousing the United States' ire. In their exhausted condition they would not be equal to facing the wrath of that power backed by Russia.

2. The other path which events may take is this: The present steady movement of the heads of the democratic states into the orbit of influence of the fascist powers will be accelerated. English and French versions of totalitarian regimes will arise. The interests of the rulers of the existing

fascist states and erstwhile democracies will become more and more closely identified. These men will find it expedient to avoid an expensive war and much more remunerative to systematically oppress and exploit their respective peoples for their mutual benefit. They will effect a division of the fruits of their "compact" which will be cemented by a bitter hatred of the U.S.S.R. and a smouldering antipathy for the U.S.A. The overthrow of the U.S.S.R. will be the beacon light of their foreign policy.

In that case, the order of events outlined in the first eventuality may be reversed. After Italy and Germany have cleaned-up the Spanish War they may attack Russia on the east while Japan with one hand and eye on China harasses her on the west. (Already we are getting faint glimmerings of this move with the German propagandists gunning for An Independent Ukraine.) We can depend on it that France and Britain will give no aid to the "Bolsheviks." This Non-Intervention will win them the gratitude of the totalitarian states. The resulting amity and community of interest will eventually result in the complete fascization of the demi-democracies of Europe.

Of course there is a third alternative that is not inconceivable. It is that England and France might emerge "victorious." Will the millenium then be at hand? We have reason to doubt it. Bertrand Russell makes a likely prediction on this eventuality: "It may be taken as certain that the men in power in England (and France) when the war ends will have no dislike of Fascism, and it is highly probable that they will think a military dictatorship necessary to preserve order. The end of all the death and destruction will be the substitution of an English Hitler for the German one."

The course of events predicted here could be altered, so that none of the unattractive prognostications would materialize,—if, within a month or two, the present flaccid British and French governments were to be replaced by more courageous and far-sighted bodies, governments who would co-operate to solve the minority problems; to ensure a fairer distribution of the wealth of the world nationally and internationally; to discard the outmoded ideal of national sovereignty and replace it with one of collective responsibility; to remove the economic and political barriers to international trade and conciliation. In short, given enlightened governments at the helm of England and France, we could look for the removal of the conditions that make dictators and totalitarianism necessary and acceptable to great masses of mankind, and that make a catastrophic war imminent.

Caven Atkins

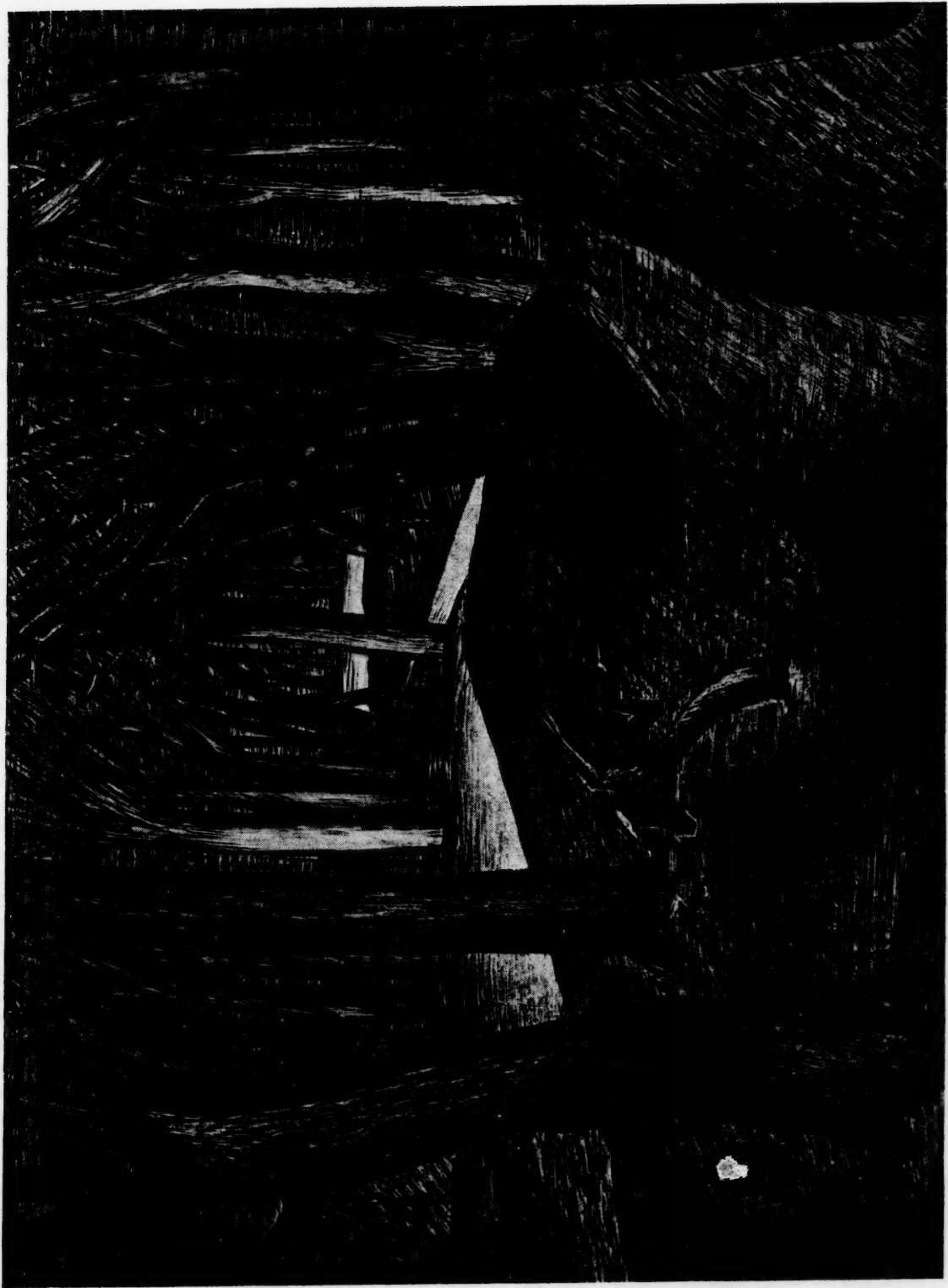
GRAHAM McINNES

CAVEN Atkins went to Winnipeg when he was three years old, and didn't return to the East till he was 27, yet his roots, he says, are "in the East." Certainly his work would seem to show this, for he has achieved the greatest development in his art since he forsook the endless horizons of the West for the broken and diversified landscape of Eastern Canada. But if the harmonious landscapes and bright still-lives of the last two years have been done in Ontario and Quebec, it was in Winnipeg that the sure foundations of technical proficiency were laid, and in Winnipeg that Atkins formed two friendships which have, he says, greatly influenced his thought. Certainly they influenced his early work.

The first friendship was that with Lemoine Fitzgerald, director of the Winnipeg School of Art, where Atkins went for two years after doing a year's commercial art course. The sure draughtsmanship and contemplative attitude of his early drawings may be in part attributed to Fitzgerald's influence. There followed two years at Brigden's commercial art house, then an eight month tour of the entire United States, visiting galleries, and finally several months at Flin Flon, where Atkins first explored the virtues of the contemplative approach—an approach so evident in his large canvases.

It was on his return from Flin Flon in 1930 that he met Fritz Brandtner, a forceful artist reared in the tradition of German Expressionism. Brandtner was then, as now, engaged in interpreting the Canadian scene with a vividness and a turbulence which make him our foremost realist painter, and the friendship was extremely fruitful. In 1934, Atkins came to Toronto, where he has resided since. His time has been divided between working out his painting approach, and in widening its scope through design and decorative work. He has done a great deal of designing for Rene Cera, display director for the T. Eaton Co., has been associated with Charles Comfort in the working out of the murals for the Toronto Stock Exchange, and has recently been engaged in extensive industrial designing projects in various parts of Ontario.

To most observers of his work, Atkins exhibits two broadly defined, though by no means contradictory trends. These are more or less exemplified in the drawings reproduced in this issue. On the one hand is a closely knit series of semi-abstract designs, with a strong linear basis, and shot through with a spirit of intellectual contempla-



—Caven Atkins

WILLOWVALE PARK

tion. On the other hand are harmonious, loosely flowing, bright landscapes which seem to owe less to intellectual discipline than to an immediate emotional response. Both approaches are alright with Atkins, he says. In the latter, his feelings are allowed full play; in the former they are subordinated to careful organisation through mental processes. Opinions may differ as to which approach is the more satisfactory, but it is noticeable that in his Quebec work of summer, 1937, his Ontario landscapes of spring and summer, 1938, and in his more recent still lifes, a fusion of the two approaches has been reached, with happy results. It is in this fusion that Atkins' realisation would seem to lie.

Atkins insists on the importance of the "contemplative" outlook. "There is a rhythm in the universe," he says, "which, once you can find it, does give things a richer and more significant

actuality." He believes that contemplation aids the search for this rhythm. It must be admitted, however, that he appears to find it with equal—sometimes with greater—success when the contemplative is replaced by the immediate emotional response; or rather, when the latter is dominant.

Atkins is a director of the Canadian Society of Painters in Water Color, and secretary of the Canadian Society of Graphic Art. He has exhibited at many Society showings, and with an independent group at the Art Gallery of Toronto in 1935. Other members of this group, it is interesting to recall, were Pegi Nicol, Carl Schaefer, John Alfsen, Thoreau MacDonald and Robert Ross. In October, 1937, he held a one man show at the Picture Loan Society in Toronto, and he is to hold another exhibition at the same galleries this month.

Education By Radio

E. A. CORBETT

DR. W. W. Charters of the University of Ohio, the founder of the "Institute of Radio Education" which meets every year in Columbus, has defined radio education as "That which raises standards of taste, increases the range of valuable information, or stimulates audiences to undertake worthwhile activities." In short, an educational programme is one which improves the listener. But S. E. Frost in his book "Is American Radio Democratic" points out that the chief difficulty in the above statement is the subjective character of the terms "taste," "valuable," "worthwhile," and "improves." With these accepted, educational broadcasting will vary with every listener. He therefore defines educational broadcasting as an activity which builds "self-directive intelligence."

Ernest Hill in "Listen and Learn" points out that there are certain further very obvious considerations that may clear the air as to what constitutes an educational broadcast. For instance, the auspices under which a programme appears on the air do not make it educational or otherwise. A college or university, for example, might put on a programme that is non-educational (although he is inclined to think that is impossible) and a department store or a manufacturer might produce one that is entirely educational. The Standard Oil does just that in California. It might also be stated that the purpose of an educational programme need not be educational. The New York Symphony, the Metropolitan Opera, are offered as entertainment, yet the whole production is

education of the finest kind. The character of these broadcasts is definitely educational although the effect is not easy to determine, but for that matter neither is it easy to determine the effect of a classroom lecture.

Suppose, then, we divide educational broadcasting as falling into two groups or classes. One is that class which is unquestionably education. The other is that class with definite educational value but other aspects which give its programmes a less definite character. In other words, we may divide educational broadcasting into two main groups — those which are definitely educational in purpose and effect; and semi-educational programmes. In the first class would come the Chicago Round Table, the American Town Meeting of the Air, the Office of Education "Let Freedom Ring" in the States; and in Canada, the series of broadcasts on the Canadian Constitution, the Canadian Portraits series, the round table discussions on Housing, the talks on Adult Education, talks on international affairs, "Science at Work" — talks on practical science by members of the National Research Council, the various informative talks on subjects dealing with Canadian History, dramatization of Bible stories, and many others. Also definitely educational are the Metropolitan Opera and New York Symphony broadcasts; the programmes provided by Firestone, the Ford Symphony (although many people find it necessary on the latter programme to turn the dial gently while our "Friend of the Sunday Evening Hour" has his "crowded hour of glorious life".)

Then as semi-educational we might mention such excellent Canadian efforts as the Toronto and Montreal Symphonies, Chulhaldin's "Melodic Strings," the recent series of Shakespearian plays, and many others of entertainment and informative value.

I have no authority to speak for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, but it is my understanding that it is the purpose of the Corporation to present as many of these definitely educational and semi-educational programmes as may be consistent with good radio policy, and that next year there will be more and better productions of this character. But good educational programmes are expensive, and at the present time, the Corporation is working on a very narrow margin of available income for programme activities. If the Corporation is to use the network to its greatest possibilities in the field of general education it will be necessary to do one of two things, either to add to its regular present income from the \$2.50 license fee, by carrying a larger number of advertising programmes, or to increase the fee. If the Canadian people wish to keep American advertising off the Canadian airways, there is only one way to do it, and that is to establish an adequate license fee.

In a recent broadcast the chairman of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Mr. L. W. Brockington, K.C., gave an interesting comparison of license fees in other countries operating a publicly-owned system. From the following table of license fees it is apparent that a \$3.00 charge would not be out of line in Canada.

Austria	\$6.00
Australia	\$3.75—8.75 (according to zone)
Czechoslovakia	\$5.00
Denmark	\$3.40
Germany	\$9.00
Great Britain	\$2.50
Irish Free State	\$2.50
Italy	\$6.50
New Zealand	\$7.50
Norway	\$5.00
Sweden	\$2.50
South Africa	\$6.00

I am aware of the fact that there are thousands of homes in Canada, particularly in the West, and in rural areas, where the radio set has been silent for years simply because the owners cannot afford to renew their worn-out batteries and the license at the same time. Undoubtedly the investigation into the incredible differences in price between radio batteries in the United States and Canada will have the effect of easing that burden.

The point is that good educational programmes are not, and never can be cheap. They cost as

much if not more than any other type of good programme. I have had enough experience in university broadcasting to know that as a rule the people who are anxious and willing to give their time for broadcasting are not the people you want. Those who have the knack of preparing an acceptable script and the skill to present it, are for the most part, busy people who demand and have a right to demand a decent return for their labours. When we insist, therefore, on a better type of programme of straight educational or semi-educational programmes, we are asking for an expensive service and one that the Corporation with its present budget is not in a position to supply. But even as things are at present, the improved technique in presenting educational and semi-educational programmes has had its effect and the appreciation of good music, well-presented informative programmes, is moving steadily upward. We have heard a lot about thirteen-year-old intellects in connection with radio and with a good deal of it I am in complete agreement. The fact remains that there is a very much higher general appreciation of good music, drama, discussions, and talks, a greater demand for really fine entertainment than there was, say in 1930. In other words, the radio carries its own propaganda and as programmes have improved, the taste of the people has improved.

In Canada we are only beginning to tackle the most difficult problem in radio education, that is school broadcasting. For a long time educationists have been doubtful of the value of school broadcasting. Latterly, however, as was shown in the brief presented by the Canadian Teachers' Federation before the Rowell Commission, Canadian teachers and officials are beginning to realize the possibilities of this new medium as a supplement to the regular teaching process. During the season 1937-38 the Department of Education of the Province of British Columbia, in co-operation with the C.B.C. began an experimental series of broadcasts to rural schools. The series was well received and the experiment has been enlarged and widened in scope for this season. In Nova Scotia, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and Ontario there has been sufficient experimentation in school broadcasting to convince the authorities that the idea is sound, and under careful direction can be of enormous value to teachers and pupils, particularly in remote areas.

The greatest handicap at the moment is the lack of receiving sets in the schools. According to the Dominion Bureau of Statistics there are only 31 sets in Nova Scotia schools, 1 in New Brunswick, 12 in Quebec, 113 in Ontario, 24 in

Manitoba, 93 in Saskatchewan, 151 in Alberta and 200 in British Columbia, a total of 625, of which 284 are the property of the teachers themselves. It is not very much use broadcasting school programmes until the schools have been more widely supplied with receiving sets. On the other hand, trustees of school districts will be slow to install receiving sets until a broadcasting service is provided sufficiently convincing in its value to warrant the expense. This is particularly true in some of the western provinces where many school districts have been unable to pay the teachers' salaries or provide the local schools with adequate working equipment. It is interesting to note, however, that when the British Columbia Department of Education commenced broadcasting to schools in 1938 there were only about forty receiving sets in the schools but by the time the experiment was concluded there were over two hundred, and the 1939 report shows that the number has increased to 400.

It is characteristic of Canadian people to move slowly in matters pertaining to education. It is perhaps as well, therefore, that we can approach this whole question of school-broadcasting after the period of experimentation in central Europe, the British Isles, and the United States, has pretty well defined the dangers, the limitations and the possibilities of this new mechanical aid in education. The use of the radio in the schools of England and Scotland particularly, has now reached a very high standard indeed and there are very few teachers who question its value.

The B.B.C. system seems to me to be the most thorough-going and efficient from the point of view of organization at least, and I think in service as well. In this organization there are two executive bodies, the Central Council for School Broadcasting, and the School Broadcasts Department at Broadcasting House, and the School lessons supervised and prepared by these units seem to be models of their kind. The Central Council is financed by the B.B.C. but is independent of it. It consists of a chairman and vice-chairman, with a large number of representative members elected by the Board of Education, the Directors of Education, the Municipal Corporations, the elementary and secondary teachers, etc. The chief duties of the central council are to set up committees in English, Geography, History, Modern Languages, Music and Science. On these sub-committees sit not only recognized authorities but also practising teachers who can keep always in the fore-ground the practical point of view. The major work of these committees is to plan the courses of lessons to be broadcast in their particular subject and to

choose the speakers to give the lessons. The B.B.C. is therefore not concerned with the choice of materials for broadcasting and thus escapes any possible criticism on the ground that it is trying to teach teachers how to do their jobs, or to dictate what school children shall be taught.

The Central Council also supervises all publications dealing with school programmes. The other executive body, i.e. the School Broadcasts Department is, of course, concerned only with the actual production. The names of the speakers and their subjects are handed to this department by the sub-committees of the Central Council. The Department officials then get the speaker, examine his script, test his voice. Sometimes scripts are re-written three or four times before accepted, and of course, many eminent educationists who can't or won't try to accommodate themselves to the new technique of teaching have their scripts refused.

Beyond all this, is the use by the teacher of the broadcast in the class-room. In fact, the part played by the teacher in the success or failure of a broadcast talk is the most important of the whole operation. No machine can take the place of the inter-play between teacher and pupil. If the teacher considers the broadcast hour as a kind of "soft option" it won't amount to much, but if he seizes on every point of interest to elucidate or elaborate and arouse controversy, he can stimulate that individual mental effort in the child which is perhaps the most important objective in education.

Since education is so completely a provincial matter in Canada, the Corporation is definitely limited in what it can do in the way of school programmes. Provincial Departments of Education will be mainly responsible for developments in this field, but I understand the Corporation stands ready to co-operate with other Provincial Departments of Education, as it has already done in British Columbia, by providing regional broadcasts to schools. In this matter, it would appear to be important that educational authorities should be in a position to recommend a choice of several low-priced receiving sets, especially designed for school purposes. Ordinary house-sets are not adapted to use in schools. The school-set should be made for the purpose. It should be constructed in such a way as to enable the teacher to lock it up; the batteries packed in a strong metal container and guaranteed for a definite period. The price of such an equipment for rural schools should not exceed \$35.00.

A booklet on school broadcasting as a guide to provincial authorities would also be useful. Such a booklet should give an outline of the sys-

tems followed in other countries and should suggest the best methods to be used in Canada. It should give instruction in the setting-up of Provincial Committees to arrange and produce school broadcasts. It should indicate the necessity of providing courses in training at Normal Schools and summer courses so that Teachers would have an opportunity to learn something about the way to use the school set and the available programmes to the best advantage. Unfortunately, of course, in many of the Provinces country schools are so badly equipped, and the teachers so poorly paid that it is a little difficult to persuade school trustees to install new gadgets, when they find it impossible to provide maps, a school library or even a janitor.

It seems to me that the chief benefit to be derived from school broadcasting in Canada will

be that it will lessen the handicap under which small country schools labour, through lack of specialist teachers, and will cause the education given in these schools to be less associated in the children's minds with one or two teachers' voices. It will relieve schools in remote districts of some of their sense of isolation and enable them to feel that they are in touch with the world outside. "School broadcasts," says "The Listener," "provide teachers with new material and the services of a constant refresher course. They help to train children in habits of selective listening, which will make them critical and discriminating listeners when they grow up, and finally, in everything which concerns the spoken word or can be judged by the ear, they give schools examples by which they may criticize their own performances."

Discussion In Democracy

W. C. KEIRSTEAD

HOWEVER controversial may be the full implications of democracy, it is evident that it is, at least, a social organization in which "discussion" has a place of supreme importance. Democracy is a form of government in which representatives of citizens select ministers of the state and in which executive policies must stand the criticism of the representatives and of citizens. Discussion and criticism are central for the formation and reformation of public policies. Democracy implies faith in the intelligence and cooperative spirit of the common man, and it undertakes to provide a system of education that will enable him to discharge effectively his civic and social functions.

Freedom of discussion in democracy means freedom for discussion in public assemblies, and in the public press; freedom of conscience or of worship; freedom in the administration of justice; freedom of teaching in schools and colleges; freedom in scientific investigation and in any pursuit of knowledge.

This liberty of discussion is denied in Dictator states. Freedom of discussion, it is said, multiplies parties, promotes dissension and thwarts unity of action. It tends to vacillation in public policy, to weaknesses and compromises and it places the executive power in the hands of mediocre men. Dictator states, we are told, show unity, a progressiveness and a boldness of action, a firmness in execution and an ability in its dictators that is lacking in democratic states.

Notwithstanding the fact that dictators are a reversal to a mediaeval form of government, which was rejected because its tyranny, ineffici-

ency and oppression, they are being praised today as the cause of the rapid and almost spectacular advance of certain totalitarian states. These states never achieved a real democracy and their present advance is due in large measure to the great economic resources that were awaiting development.

Within any democracy there are minor associations, organized on an authoritarian basis, that are not in sympathy with the democratic spirit and method of the country in which they exist. Groups with special privileges, with their own doctrines and franchises to protect, are naturally fearful of the result of free rational discussion and welcome a form of social organization that will protect their interests. It was these classes that formed Fascist states.

Again we have those who, although they do not deny the right, yet question the value of discussion. A recent writer has pointed out that the press, the radio and the cinema have been appropriated so largely for propaganda purposes by great pecuniary interests that they are doing little for the education of the people. Moreover this writer states that social problems are so complex that superficial discussion is of little value. What is needed is investigation by scientists and administration by trained civil servants. If the evils are not expelled by discussion, they are exorcised by the social scientist and the civil servant. It might be argued that in the application of science to industry and social problems Germany is the equal of any democracy.

What then is the case for freedom of discussion? Discussion is not mere argument by con-

tentious persons, nor is it propaganda or wish-fulfilling thinking, but its essential nature is problem-solving; and as such it includes all reflective thinking. The term "discussion" means literally "to shake apart," to analyze into elements, and this is the function of thinking. The mind breaks up its perceptions into qualities and tags these, so to speak, by the use of words or symbols. Language is thus necessary for thinking as well as for communication. In fact thinking and communication are phases of one process; thinking is a discussion or communication with one's self and conversation or discussion is cooperative or joint thinking. One process cannot proceed far without the other.

Now the symbols used in thinking may be, and indeed in ordinary thinking are likely to be, partial images or likenesses of the qualities they represent, but in scientific thinking imagery drops out and we have conventional and abstract signs that carry meanings only. Science deals with meanings; it is impartial, objective and exact. It seeks to solve problems that are often highly abstract, in order that these in turn may be brought to interpret the experiences of life. Most symbols have however a cognitive and an emotional aspect. Most persons think in value-judgments, that is, with symbols that carry both meanings and emotional contents. Much thinking is quite closely related to the facts of life and is tested and checked by the facts of experience. Again, there are large realms of experience in which we have not worked out scientific concepts and methods, where our knowledge is informed and tested opinion. No philosopher placed a higher estimate upon science than did Plato, yet he also insisted upon the necessity of informed opinion. It would be unfortunate indeed if we were deprived of the great fields of knowledge that can scarcely be called scientific but are yet the organized and tested opinions of mankind. Moreover, such knowledge is the preliminary for scientific investigation and research. Much public discussion is in this realm of opinion.

There are however, symbols that have little meaning or cognitive content but are rich in feeling. "Suggestion" is a method of using such symbols to arouse emotional attitudes without calling up the cognitive meanings or knowledges implicated. When symbols are used as mere "cues" to arouse emotional attitudes we have propaganda. Dictators may make use of scientists to provide means for their predetermined ends, but they use propaganda to secure mass responses. Music, ritual, ceremonial, regimentation, the cinema, the radio, the press, and emotional oratory before large audiences are all used to arouse feeling, to produce uniformity of attitude, and to prevent

critical thinking. Moreover, the independent critical thinker is imprisoned, tortured and otherwise intimidated, and thereby uniformity is maintained. Mr. Churchill said a few weeks ago "the whole newspaper of a dictator country can be turned this way or that like a fire hose, either to pour water upon a conflagration or to pour petrol upon flames that have already been ignited." The strength of propaganda is in man's racial heritage of impulse and instinct and in customs and prejudices that by long usage have become second nature. But its weakness is in the fact that it cannot endure intelligent discussion. For this reason a dictator state lives in mortal fear; it hermetically seals its own borders against foreign infiltrations of knowledge; it regards freedom in any democracy as a mortal enemy of itself and is never safe so long as freedom lives.

Where there is free discussion propagandas have a way of conflicting and cancelling each other, whereas truths unite into larger systems bringing mutual support and a conviction that is irresistible. Unless the main news of a great daily can be relied upon, it becomes useless even for propaganda purposes and, as opinion becomes informed, it has a way of discerning and discrediting propaganda and recognizing truth. In fact we may say that one aim of education is to enable a child to discriminate between truth and propaganda.

Democracy must depend upon education to raise the standard of discussion. Science not only enables us to solve complex problems but it develops a technique for exact thinking. In a democracy scientific processes are reacting into the experiences of the people and are producing more critical discussions. But science in turn depends upon public opinion. Science needs equipment, laboratories and trained investigators and it needs an atmosphere of public opinion in which to work. The scientist must find a public that will appreciate and apply his results. To accomplish this we need a better system of education, including high schools, colleges and universities that will prepare both the public and the scientists.

What stands in the way of providing an education that will expose prejudice and privilege and that will develop objective and impartial thinking? There are industrial and other special interests which are not anxious for the application of scientific methods to social aims as well as means, to social values as well as methods. Until we get a better social order we cannot get the education we need and until we get a better system of education we cannot get a better social order. The relation is one of interaction, and progress must be achieved by improvements both in institutions and in individuals.

CORRESPONDENCE

The Bishop Speaks

The Editor, The Canadian Forum.

Dear Sir:

It is an erroneous but widely held belief nowadays that because the Roman Catholic Church in this country vigorously condemns Communism, Marxism, materialism, the class-war, and the C.C.F. party in so far as it adheres to these tenets, we Catholics have given our unqualified approval and support to the economic system as it exists in this country.

Nothing could be further from the truth. We Catholics are as fully aware of the evils and injustices which characterise industrial Capitalism in this country as are the Socialists. The point is that whereas the Socialist solution for the problem is the abolition of Capitalism, and the transference of all the means of production to the State, we propose to remedy it by the creation of more Capitalists. The Catholic ideal is an economic system based on private property which is widely diffused. In this regard, I should like to draw your attention and that of your readers to a speech by Msgr. Philippe Desranleau, Roman Catholic bishop-coadjutor of Sherbrooke, Que., which will perhaps serve to clarify the Catholic attitude on social justice and economic reform. In a sermon inaugurating Employers' Syndicate Week, the Bishop vigorously condemned our present economic system under which wealth has become concentrated in the hands of a few, while many are living in abject poverty, and called for a redistribution of wealth, pointing out that the goods of this world were created for everyone, and not merely for the few.

The Bishop further stated that "this centralization of wealth is contrary to right, to justice, and good sense, and should be stamped out, but that just as long as we remain under the heel of a few men who draw everything to themselves, and who possess 80% of the world's wealth, we will continue to be poor, contrary to the dictates of justice and charity as taught by the Church. The present evils will continue just as long as we permit a small number of individuals to enjoy a privileged position whereby they are able to impose their will on the people of Canada through the radio, through newspapers, through governments, and through business."

In this regard one cannot help but think of Mr. McCullagh's attempt to influence public opinion in this country through his weekly talks on the radio, a privilege which is denied those of our citizens who cannot afford to pay the necessary fees for broadcasting. It is also interesting to note the support which has been given him by the czars of high finance who control our newspapers.

Msgr. Desranleau stressed the fact that during the last twenty-five years production has increased more rapidly than at any time in history, as a result of revolutionary developments in industrial methods and new uses for machinery; financial reports have shown sums never seen before; the number of colossal fortunes has multiplied and is increasing each year. On the opposite side of the ledger there has been an increase in the number of destitutes. Thus we are confronted by the paradox that while there has been an increase in inventive genius there has been an increase in misery.

Quoting Pope Pius XI who has condemned the present economic system as hard, relentless and cruel, he goes on to

state that in order to free the world from this dictatorship of wealth, it is necessary to bring to reason those who are responsible for this state of affairs, and revert back to the teachings of Jesus Christ, his Church and his Pope. Noting that Papal Encyclicals have been studied and quoted by many non-Catholics, the Bishop says, "To mention only two, there are President Roosevelt, who quotes freely from Pius XI, and Mr. J. S. Woodsworth, head of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, whose ideas one cannot share in full, who also studies the teachings of the Pope."

In summing up the whole question, he closes, "No matter what the price, this economic dictatorship must be remedied." Montreal.

—H. F. QUINN.

O CANADA!

(A prize of \$1.00, or a six months subscription to The Canadian Forum to any address, is given for the cutting printed at the head of this column. Original cuttings, with name and date of paper, should be sent.)

A country will put up with a lot of inaction in a government once it is in power, but not when it is appealing for votes. In spite of that, party managers always cling to the illusion that there is safety in negation. I do not say that that applies to Canadian politics, or to infer for a moment that a Canadian Prime Minister is ever anything but dynamic and constructive either during or after an election. As for avoiding an issue, I don't believe it would even be contemplated at Ottawa.

(Beverly Baxter in Maclean's Magazine)

COUNCIL INVITES KING TO VISIT RED DEER—REQUEST TO GO TO PRIME MINISTER—SEWER CONSTRUCTION CONTINUING—FREE GARBAGE COLLECTION IN DECEMBER—BY-LAWS READ.

(Headline in Red Deer, Alta., Advocate)

The time has come "when we have to make up our minds to worry about the future of Canada and leave politics out of it."

(Karl Homuth, Conservative M.P. to meeting of Ottawa Zonta Club)

In the experience which I have had, and it is over fifty years since I sat in the press administration gallery here, and I think I have known every administration since, and largely the personnel of them all—ministers are appointed to office sometimes because of their good looks, sometimes because of certain popular qualities, sometimes because they are good public speakers able to deliver such a stump speech as that to which I am replying tonight, which we have just heard from the Minister of National Defence, and sometimes they are appointed for other qualities. But when it comes to two or three of the more important departments, the Prime Minister in selecting his cabinet is always desirous of obtaining men well qualified by intelligence and by experience to be competent administrators of such special departments.

(Mr. Cahan in the House of Commons, Hansard p. 876)

The prize this month goes to Mr. A. G. Blair, Granum, Alberta.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

The Railways

THE CANADIAN RAILWAY PROBLEM: Lesslie R. Thomson; Macmillan Co. of Canada; pp. xiii, 1080; \$12.50.

IN a sense, this is a pamphlet on public policy. Some may say that pamphlets don't run to 1100 large pages, supported by 185 tables, 47 graphs, and 14 appendices, nor are they provided with elaborately complete cross-indexes. Pamphlets are written so that he who runs may read that they may influence action; and that is the object of this book. The interest is not in the past as such, but in a knowledge of the past as providing a secure basis on which to base future action. He who runs can hardly read this book, but he had better sit down and work through it carefully before he dares speak again in public upon this topic.

Basically the organization is simple. The first two chapters, of some 80 pages, present an outline of the problem and summarise the conclusions drawn and the recommendations made. The third chapter, of some 70 pages, gives the historical background out of which the problem developed. The following six chapters, of some 570 pages, discuss the present transportation system, analyse each of the great systems in turn, compare them with each other and state what the immediate rail problem really is. The tenth and eleventh chapters, of some 150 pages, are given over to a statement and discussion of all the previous solutions and plans proposed. The twelfth chapter sets up twelve basic determinants of policy and the thirteenth chapter sets forth the recommended plan. Each chapter is prefaced by an analytical outline which is of the greatest help in following the argument.

What is the present rail problem? In part it is the result of the peculiar nature of the Canadian economy, and therefore comparatively unavoidable. The density of traffic is very low, a great deal of the traffic available must move at low rates or not at all, and the seasonal variation in volume is very great. In part it is the result of the nature of the industry. The rate of capital turn-over is low, labour costs are high and relatively inflexible. In part it is due to basic conflicts within the national economic policy. Railway prosperity has been a function of active external trade (pp. 272-6), a connection which has not received the attention which it deserves. Indeed, as the author states, "... A strange and striking commentary on the present distress of the rails is that part of the trouble is created by the economic nationalism of those, often in influential position, who believe that Canada can sell abroad her copper, paper, and wheat without buying in return. These, too, are often they who are most vocal about the dangers and perils of the Canadian Railway problem" (p. 276). In part, also, it is the result of an insistence upon rail service at a level of rates which cannot cover the costs. And, finally, it is due to the relative decline in the importance of railways in the economy of the world. Thirty years ago they possessed a monopoly of land transport. Today they are merely one form of land transport magnificently equipped to handle bulk cargoes over long distances in an economy which to an increasing degree is asking for other qualities in its carriers.

The conclusions of the study can be summarised only very briefly. It is concluded that, on the most hopeful basis, the money losses which would result from an attempt to preserve the Canadian National as a separate entity are too great to

be borne, and that the benefits from such a policy do not justify it. The competition from the American railroads, and from motor carriers will compel a level of efficiency which would be doubtful if there were full monopoly. A policy of common management of the Canadian Pacific and Canadian National is therefore recommended.

It is clearly recognized that such a policy can be made workable only if it is whole-heartedly accepted. Good reasons exist for not confiding the Canadian National property to the Canadian Pacific on the one hand, or buying out the Canadian Pacific on the other. It is admitted that there is a very powerful trend toward public ownership of railways, but equally there are very good reasons for not taking any irrevocable step. On the other hand, the conclusion is reached that the Canadian Pacific and the Canadian National executives are roughly equal in their operating skills (pp. 666, 888). The proposal is for common management only, not for common ownership and provision is made for each of the parties to the agreement to finance any extensions made which are to be tributary to either one. Provision is made for a considerate treatment of labour to be displaced and for the accumulation of reserves for the rehabilitation of functionally duplicate properties if the agreement is ever cancelled.

This very hasty survey will, I trust, whet the appetite of those interested. In many ways this is a fascinating book. The author has dealt brilliantly with a great many important points which a man of lesser confidence might have been disposed to leave alone—the lack of any effective control over Sir Henry Thornton, the unwisdom of the capital expenditures of the Canadian National, the extent of political influence over it (p. 325), the crucial decision of the Canadian Pacific to compete with the Canadian National in the 1920's (pp. 570-77), and the rapidity of the rise in fixed charges of the Canadian Pacific which in a few years threw away all benefits of twenty-five years of unparalleled prosperity and of brilliantly conservative financial management (p. 521).

This is a wholly admirable book, complete, informed, unbiased. It is soberly suggested that future discussions of the Canadian railway problem will accept it as a benchmark. In writing it, Mr. Thomson has performed a very great public service.

—JOHN L. McDUGALL.

A Likeable Fellow

RECOLLECTIONS POLITICAL AND PERSONAL: E. M. Macdonald, P.C., K.C.; Ryerson Press; pp. 584; \$2.50.

IT is so seldom that Canadian public men ever become authors that any volume of recollections by one of them is welcome. This particular volume cannot be said to be a very striking production on any standard, even on any Canadian standard. It is full of commonplace details about the routine trivialities of a politician's life, such as who moved the Address at the opening of each parliament and who won each by-election, and of equally commonplace details about what the author saw and whom he met on all his travels. But, all the same, as the book goes on you come to feel an affection for the author, and you finish its 584th page with a strong impression that you've been in the company of a very likeable and decent fellow and that Canadian public life would be improved with more Ned Macdonalds in it.

Scattered through his pages are a great number of stories about well known men which throw light upon important incidents in Canadian political history. His account of the relations of the government with Mackenzie and Mann, and of the way in which coalition conscription and the taking over of the C.N.R. were connected with one another in 1917, is of major importance, and should be read by everyone between now and the time when we get another "national" government to save the country from something or other. And no reader, sophisticated or innocent, can fail to enjoy his anecdote of Lord Byng's strange procedure towards the delegation of striking miners in Nova Scotia, or his picture of the Church Union lobby in 1924. ("Nothing just so complete and aggressive in its character had been seen since the days of the lobby of Mackenzie and Mann on behalf of the Canadian Northern Railway charters.")

But the book makes one wonder about Canadian politics. Mr. Macdonald was a good party man, and one comes to respect his devotion to Laurier through good times and bad. Still, what principles were involved in all these party struggles? Mr. Macdonald's story of Nova Scotia politics is completely incomprehensible to an outsider; it is simply a chronicle of Liberals and Conservatives getting elected or being defeated; and there is not a hint of what they fought each other for, unless it was patronage. And in the broader sphere of Dominion politics, why should party politicians stick loyally to their party and not enter into new alliances or coalitions like that of 1917? There seems to have been so little to distinguish the parties from each other. Mr. Macdonald himself seems to judge his contemporaries according to their personal characters and without much reference to their party affiliations. I doubt if this book should be put into the hands of any young man. It will undermine too many of his illusions about Canadian public life.

—FRANK H. UNDERHILL.

An Itinerant Humanist

PHILOSOPHER'S HOLIDAY: Irwin Edman; Macmillan (Viking); pp. 270; \$3.00.

SOME professors of philosophy are philosophers, and Professor Edman is one of them. Or perhaps we should describe him in this book, with the doctor at Autun who cured indigestion with conversation, M. Platon, as an itinerant humanist. If he reflects upon his fellows and their ways with tolerant humour, he is essentially one of them, not one of the remoter inhabitants of the Ivory Tower, which edifice he discusses with full knowledge as a good place to stay at, but a bad place to live in. And at times, as when he meets an enthusiastic Nazi, his humour fails him. For Professor Edman is fully aware of the conflicts and stresses of the modern world and, though he does not obtrude his opinions, clearly knows where he stands. Thus his reflections are those of an integrated mind, his humour and tolerance are not flimsy flashes that hide a vacuum, but a colouring of reality whether that be a philosophic sailor, a Luxembourg barmaid, his cook, or whatever. Though Mr. Edman is a philosopher, yet the ultimate reality for him is not ideas but persons.

Perhaps it is this unusual combination that gives the book its charm. Former students, former teachers, music, learned societies, all furnish the occasion for some vivid portraits and reflections cast in a style that is so lucid as to remain unnoticed. His chapter on Sane Englishmen for example approaches contemporary British policy (quite incidentally) from a revealing angle: "Whether in metaphysics or in deal-

ing with dictators, finalities are avoided, just as ultimate things must not be discussed at tea-time, or ecstasy or exact doctrine required or indeed permitted at a Sunday service or from a Bishop."

A pleasant book for a leisure hour, witty, entertaining, and always interesting. If, in spite of the author's disclaimer, autobiography keeps creeping in, no reader will complain.

—G. M. A. GRUBE.

The Christian Life

THE CONTEMPORARY CHRIST: Richard Roberts; introduction by Rufus Jones; Macmillan; pp. 148; \$2.25.

OF all the ministers who have enriched the pulpit of Toronto during recent years Richard Roberts has been outstanding in his contributions to religious and theological literature. The title of this thoughtful and interesting book somewhat conceals its contents; it should have borne some such title as Christian life in present day society. For this is the fact and the problem considered. Dr. Roberts has passed through and out of the delightful exhilaration of the liberal movement which characterised the early years of this century; he has seen the world which was then presupposed, and the romantic view of human nature which formed its centre, vanish in the war and the confusion which followed. But disillusionment has not brought despair. He has neither optimism nor pessimism, but simply Christian hope and faith. He finds return to the practice of prayer in private life, and new attention to worship in the church. These indicate a search for a centre of interest beyond the human, and a supreme end for man in God. Personality in God and man is seen to be the basic reality, but it is distinguished from individuality, which marks a man off from his fellows, while personality is the common heritage. As applied to God the term connotes something much more than an abstract being, and the doctrine of the Trinity suggests the minimum rather than the maximum of the social nature of the Divine. Christianity is interpreted as "community" and in this the book parallels Professor John MacMurray's emphasis on "mutuality." Jesus is seen as unable to fit into any place in the life of this day and Christianity is only naturalised in modern life by forfeiting its distinctiveness. Egoistic philosophy hinders the promotion of true community of which the Fascist states, despite their high efficiency, are almost destitute. The kernel of Christian life is found in the prayer from the cross for forgiveness of the slayers; and nothing less than the acceptance of such an attitude as the only wise one for men and nations can save society. The church must by worship and teaching awaken the appreciation of this fact symbolised in the doctrine of Grace. Some caustic sayings are found referring to the vulgarising of the pulpit by the commercialism of church officers who seek to run the church as a business concern, and call pastors who by any means—however alien to Christian emphasis—will fill church and collection plates. No reforms of private lives can suffice, for the new society must be organised explicitly to secure the essential minimum of security, satisfaction, political and economic freedom, and leisure. The actual programme which will secure these results calls for technical skills which are not inherent in the church; but the church must condemn and destroy those forces which prevent the creation of a society that makes those ends the essential requirement in any political or economic system. Community being the goal, in every field of life the master-servant relationship must yield to one of leader-follower in a freely chosen comradeship.

—ERNEST THOMAS.

Moral Fibre

GRANDMA CALLED IT CARNAL: Bertha Damon; Musson Book Co. (Simon and Schuster); pp. 288; \$2.50.

THIS study of stern New England culture is epitomized by Grandma Griswold, about the turn of the century, in a much wittier and wiser book than its facetious title might suggest. It deals with the upbringing of two little girls by their small-town grandmother, whose eccentricities in manner of thought and principle make interesting and often delightful reading. Into Grandma's category of the "Carnal," came such seemingly normal pursuits as that of eating good food, enjoying ordinary bodily comfort, and wearing unrepellent clothing.

"Grandma had a strong feeling that everyone—except herself—not only in North Stonefield but also in the whole world had a wrong set of values." And she was not the kind of woman to take a challenge like that sitting down. "She was for reform all along the way, and a good thorough revolution every now and then. And she wanted to have a hand in it all herself."

Living up to Grandma's convictions required tough moral fibre and a strong constitution. Guided spiritually and intellectually by daily deep delving into Henry Thoreau and John Ruskin, she deftly dissected herself into two unequal parts, "Higher Nature," and "Lower Nature." And Grandma Griswold's Lower Nature never had a chance. Grandma Griswold never sat on a comfortable chair if a straight backed one were available. She never rode if she could walk, and her idea of a nice Thanksgiving dinner was stewed apples and turnips. She kept her house at a temperature a little above freezing, in the winter. Except, of course, in the bedrooms, you could always freeze there, and no meat was eaten in her house, because it was carnal so to do.

"Grandma Called it Carnal" is reminiscent, in treatment, of Day's "Life With Father," but is much less convincing portraiture. It is a little too much documented, perhaps, and in the host of illustrations the essential pattern is lost. Slightly caricatured, Grandma Griswold emerges from the pages of her granddaughter's book an unforgettable and not wholly unsympathetic figure. It is scarcely possible, after all, to either forget or to completely ignore a woman capable of saying "... I took that long chilling walk over the hills of Matthew Colby's and missed having any lunch. When I came home, very hungry, I found in the buttery a platter of cold beet greens, and, Bertha, the way I fell upon those greens and devoured them was nothing short of carnal."

—LUELLA CREIGHTON.

A Faraway Land

BLACK IS MY TRULOVE'S HAIR: Elizabeth Madox Roberts; Macmillan (The Viking Press); pp. 281; \$2.75.

ELIZABETH Madox Roberts has done the expected again, written an admirable novel of the so-called "earthy" variety without limiting it to regional events. The locale is the Pidgeon River country in Kentucky, but she does not find it necessary to insist upon it nor to weary the eyes with dialect. Her characters speak with the lilt of a faraway land, it is true—a land where poetry is the inevitable language. But it is not so far that girls don't run away and come back without a wedding ring and no banns said, and that pretty widows who have buried two husbands aren't worldly-wise. Love and Hate skulk about just as they do in some parts of Ontario, and even emerge in the bright moonlight (p. 277).

"Black Is My Trulove's Hair" is the worthy contribution of a poet-novelist. In a chanting rhythm, the story is told of a young girl, Dena James, who ran away and then tried to come back. The story lives in a poet's world, a country of light and shadow, stillness and music; and is quite unself-consciously the country, rural rather than bucolic. Dena comes back to her sister's house and attempts to rehabilitate herself in the community and escape her fear of Bill Langtry, the truck driver with whom she ran away. She finds a successful new love with the son of the humanist-miller, who accomplishes a match-making venture in a manner that is ingenuous and graceful. The main characters seem, however, to lose importance in the movement of the words and in the overhanging symbolism which, at times, becomes pointless in an accidental turn of affairs.

Dena, Langtry, and Journeymen, the village philosopher, are absorbed by it, and so much of the action drifts through a symptomatic haze that motives become obscured. At the risk of seeming bourgeois, I find it necessary to say that Langtry's desire to kill Dena is not fully explained. That she left him when he refused to marry her is not enough, nor is a description of the dark hate and brooding that surrounded the man. It is in the minor characters that reality appears. In the miller, who strums his guitar and sings gay or wistful ballads with the insight of a jester and the simplicity of a peasant. In Frony, Dena's sister, who knows her charm and is pleased with it. In Ollie McClark, who is not pleasant, but very comprehensible.

It's a book that leaves the senses filled with music and the mind incapable of judgment. This effect is so pronounced that it is necessary to reread it in order to achieve a complete picture of events. In themselves they are melodramatic at times, but the blend is good and the appeal undeniable.

—PATRICIA PALMER.

Men and Machines

F.O.B. DETROIT: Wessel Smitter; Musson; pp. 340; \$2.50.

DO men live by machinery or do machines now live by man? Samuel Butler put the question over fifty years ago. A middle-aged Dutch-American is asking it again in the form of a novel about work in what is obviously a Ford plant in Detroit.

The story is simply constructed around Ben, a contented robot and God's gift to the auto-manufacturers, and his big greenhorn pal, Russ. The former, without nerves, imagination, or any talents which cannot be expressed as a slave of the rheostat, remains a happy moron "making his share of the noise" which helps drive others to suicide. Though the assembly line is wearing even on him he doesn't chafe, for isn't "work . . . something you don't like to do—else you wouldn't get paid for it?" He wouldn't mind being a straw-boss, and so "if there's red talk around, or talk about unions, I get to hear it and I get to talk with the bosses."

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Russ, the ex-lumberjack, has a thousand times more mechanical ability, and just because of it he must have "a machine geared to him" not himself to a machine. For a brief spell he is happy mastering an enormous and complicated crane, but an automat is inevitably found to supersede even his skill, and he can escape "technological unemployment" only by taking his place on the line screwing on an increasing number of bolts per minute. He endures in the hope of saving enough to get away and set himself up as a clam-digger in the fresh sea-air of California. But marriage, lay-offs, and a child, trap him. The hellish monotony inexorably changes him into a pathetic neurotic, haunted by nightmares, quarrelling with his wife, mutilated in mind and finally in body.

The theme is more powerful than Mr. Smitter's telling of it. The author imposes restraint on his own sympathies with Russ by filtering the story entirely through the dim wits of Bennie, but the scheme, though it deepens the bitterness, imposes a colorlessness of style which he escapes only by jumbling his own imaginative phrases in with Bennie's illiteracies. There is too much phrase-repetition in any case, too many longwinded debates, too much nick-of-time and pardon-came-too-late melodrama. The author has not made the friendship between the ill-matched pair credible, nor given them enough of other human contacts.

Nevertheless this is a first novel worth reading. The fantastic criminality of the profit system is here pictured in little. When an automatic welder is devised to weld tanks, as a sewing-machine hemstitches handkerchiefs, the result is not shorter hours for all, but the sack for 250 workers, and a speedier lay-off for all. The faster the belts run, the quicker the new models appear and the plant is shut till next season's "new" cars are ground out; the workers eat up their savings, try to get relief, and secretly tear up the houses they rent, to have fuel to keep their bodies alive.

Neither Russ nor his creator seems to have any solution for all this except such mild palliatives as abolition of yearly models and establishment of an annual wage system—or perhaps clam-digging on the Pacific. The book would have increased in representativeness and proletarian value if it had given us one glimpse into the mind of an auto-worker who understood the value of unionism or of workingclass political action. But Mr. Smitter is at the moment more under the spell of the romanticist John Steinbeck (whose "Of Mice and Men" this book imitates) than of the realist, Karl Marx.

—EARLE BIRNEY.

Pioneers

AND IF MAN TRIUMPH: George Snell; pp. 215; \$2.50.

A PARISH IN THE PINES: Lois D. Hagen.

BLUE STAR: Kunigunde Duncan, told from the Life of Corabelle Fellows; pp. 211; \$2.50.

DOCTOR AT TIMBERLINE: Charles Fox Gardner, M.D.

WINNING OREGON: Melvin C. Jacobs.

All by Copp Clark (Caxton Printers).

THESE recent publications of the Caxton Printers hold varying degrees of interest for general readers. All of them are concerned with pioneer days in the Western States; all but one are autobiographical or derived from autobiography. Such life-history material can be historically significant as well as humanly interesting. Most of these are only of mild human interest, except to ardent followers of Americana.

"And If Man Triumph . . ." retells the story of the emigrant party of 1849 which attempted to cross Death Valley. Of all the tales of disaster and rescue handed down from the Days of '49 this was one of the most exciting and has been

the one least written about. The story was first told in print in the autobiography of Lewis Manly. He was the lad who made his way to safety and bravely returned to Death Valley with help. His original narrative is now out of print. Some years ago a non-commercial edition, edited by Milo Quaife, was published by the Lakeside Press of Chicago. It can occasionally be found in second-hand stores, but may not be purchased new. Its title is "Death Valley in '49." Mr. Snell's volume is a novelised version of Manly's story with a love interest and dialogue. Nothing has been gained by this effort to dramatise the story, and the punch of Manly's straightforward account has been lost. Manly, who knew the story best, told it better. Mr. Snell would have been wiser to content himself with judicious pruning.

"A Parish in the Pines" is a bland story of childhood in a missionary family among the Ojibway of Minnesota. "Blue Star" is the personal narrative of a more interesting woman. As a girl she rebelled against the drawing-room social life expected of her, and became a teacher at Rigg's school for Indians in Dakota. When she went there, she shared the usual prejudices against Indians, but as she was thrown into close contact with them she developed the respect that comes with intimate knowledge. She was a successful teacher and a successful human being in her relations with the Sioux and Cheyenne, and was entrusted with the jobs of opening schools where there was great resistance to government control. Eventually she married a Cheyenne. As pictures of school and church at work in the active acculturation of Indians, these two narratives have a certain sociological interest. One cannot be other than appalled at the vigorous attack on the personal integrity of Indians made by these missionaries and school teachers. They let loose emotional

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and social forces of which they had little understanding and over which they had virtually no control. The affection they developed for their Indian charges alleviated the situation at first. But then came administrative transfers, and the Indians were left high and dry with weakened faith in both old customs and new ones.

"Doctor At Timberline" is as entertaining as a wild west movie. Here is the West with all the accents in the right places. And what accents! Men are men, and the horses are terrific. At the time of the Colorado gold rush an innocent young doctor went west looking for an adventurous practice. He found it, complete with drunken miners, outlaw horses, gamblers, dance halls, and all the trimmings of a first rate horse opera. This book has just what it would take to bring a ghost town to life.

"Winning Oregon" is a sober sort of book to include with the rest of this lot. It is a serious work of historiography, concerned with the expansion of the United States in the Pacific Northwest. The accession of Oregon has long been a favorite theme with the Northwestern historians. Mr. Jacobs' principal contribution lies in his discussion of the motivation of Oregon settlement. We have heard too much about pioneer restlessness and not enough about the economic basis of land hunger. The desire for free land lay in good measure behind the Oregon movement. Beyond that, (though not mentioned by Mr. Jacobs) lay the need for cheap transportation to markets. Widespread malaria, he says, impelled many to leave their homes in search of more healthy environments. Certainly all these things were true in Missouri in the 1840's, and it was there that the on-to-Oregon movement was strongest. In showing that the Oregon acquisition was part of a general stream of westward expansion, Mr. Jacobs has revealed Oregon settlement as part of a social process. This is a useful thing to do.

—PHILLEO NASH.

Capitalist Constitution

THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION: H. R. Greaves; Nelson (Allen & Unwin); pp. 296; \$2.50.

BOOKS on constitutions are not usually particularly interesting or particularly readable to anyone but specialists.

This book is a notable exception. Its author has gone behind the legal rules and forms in which the British Constitution is usually described to the underlying realities and powers which make the political system of Great Britain what it is, and has succeeded admirably in this task.

The parts played by the House of Lords, the House of Commons, the King, the Cabinet, the Parties, the Civil Service, the Armed Forces, the Judiciary, the educational system, and "public opinion" as moulded by the capitalist press are lucidly analyzed with a wealth (but not too great a wealth) of interesting references to recent facts and figures.

The underlying motive of Mr. Greaves' analysis is that all these elements of the British Constitution have been adapted to maintain the capitalist democracy in which the upper-middle class retain the reality of power and the unequal privileges which go with it. The question which he poses at the end of the book is whether the political system he has described is likely to show efficiency when and if parliamentary control and therefore, theoretically, supreme power, is in the hands of a class fundamentally different from that which operates the Services, Industry and the Press.

The answer suggested is far from reassuring. Perhaps in drawing the picture, Mr. Greaves has omitted some of the

qualifying features of the system which gave ground for a little more hope. For example, in his strictures on the Church as a reactionary influence, Mr. Greaves perhaps does less than justice to that minority within it, who from middle class origins it is true, nevertheless are actively seeking to create the conditions under which the change to greater economic democracy might be possible without violent destruction of the constitutional structure.

The Canadian will find this book a valuable key to understanding of the developments of the British political system which is willy-nilly of such importance to him. He will also find it a most fruitful source of suggestion about the realities of the capitalist democracy in Canada which is modelled upon the British system. He will hope that someone will do for Canada and its institutions what Mr. Greaves has done so well for Great Britain.

—F. A. BREWIN.

Penal System

INVISIBLE STRIPES: Lewis E. Lawes; Oxford (Farrar & Rinehart); pp. 315; \$2.50.

THE Invisible Stripes are the stigma that accompanies a released prisoner, and in this sequel to his "20,000 Years In Sing-Sing" the Warden of Sing-Sing discusses society's responsibility to, and for, the criminal. The first third of the book is the diary of a convict. This genuine and affecting document, which describes prison and prisoners from the inside, the Warden takes as his text, and he proceeds to castigate those with whom the ultimate responsibility lies. There is an extremely interesting discussion of the parole-system:

"Parole is futile, a useless appendage to any penal system, in association with any home for juvenile delinquents, reformatory or adult prison that does not permit its inmates that measure of individuality in labor and study and recreation which will provide them with definite objectives on their return to society."

What we need is "more parole and not less parole," the author concludes. He pleads for more federal control over crime and uniform laws throughout the U.S.A. The titles of his succeeding chapters speak for themselves: "Sins of Fathers—and Mothers," "Education and Crime," "Church or Religion?" It is hoped that parents, educators and pastors will take them to heart.

A description of what can be done in the way of crime prevention by boys' clubs and the like is on the theme that "the toughest of slum bullies can be reshaped by intelligent handling." Such a statement, from such a source, commands respect. But he goes further:

"There are two kinds of prisoners," said Chuck, 'one who never've been in, and one who should never be out.'

"Chuck was wrong.

"There is only one kind of prisoner. The kind that should never be in."

Warden Lawes sees the problem of crime in its true relation to a rotten economic system and a perverted ideal of individualism. I hope those concerned with the reforming of our penal system read this book, and above all that our rulers pay attention to his warning:

"The combined efforts of the home, the church and school, together with communal agencies such as boys' clubs, Boy-Scouts and the like, may produce a youth physically perfect, morally clean, mentally alert and spiritually attuned. But if that youth is cast adrift in a maelstrom where he is buffeted by greed and selfishness, by trick and opportunism, by the furies of unholy

ambition, he will tear himself loose from all decent influences in the effort to survive."

"Democracy has erased arbitrary distinctions of inherited aristocracy. To save itself it must now curb the rising despotism of a self-assumed plutocracy."

The book is alive with many striking illustrations drawn from actual experience. It is an appeal and a warning, not only to the professional reformer but to us all.

—MAX REINERS.

Foreign Policies

PEACE WITH THE DICTATORS, Sir Norman Angell; Musson (Hamish Hamilton); pp. 328; \$2.50.

IN this his latest book Sir Norman Angell presents the attitude of the educated German, Italian and Englishman in the form of a symposium. From there he goes on to examine the pacifist's position, dealing with the pacifist's choice of armed anarchy or collective security, and finally summarizes the discussion having in mind the immediate issue and the long term outlook.

We have in this volume an outline of the differing points of view which are controlling the foreign policies of the great powers today. This is done in the belief that if the differences are deep-rooted, the best chance of adjusting them is to admit their existence, and then find a way to modify them. The book is delightful in its style and in the character of his participants in the symposium Sir Norman tears down a lot of the sham and pretence which so often colours our thinking and our actions. For example the German is made to say: "You tell us that you believe in your league, your law, but you will not fight for it. We do not call that faith at all, and . . . You have arrived at the point where one half of your people will not fight for the Empire." The Italian is made to say: "We know that war is part of the rhythm of life, that it is part of the process of human destiny and we do not shirk it. We realize that it is not the end as I sometimes think our German Allies seem to feel it is, but the means to an end." And then quoting the cynical statement of Rochefoucauld when he said, "The one thing which will keep two people from quarrelling is their common advantage in the exploitation of a third."

Sir Norman has an interesting chapter on Czechoslovakia and puts the case for and against British isolation. In view of the action by Britain in this connection since the publication of the book these chapters have a particular interest. He states very clearly further on that at times unless we are prepared to fight for others, to make sacrifices to defend others, it may well become a physical impossibility to defend ourselves, and that in his opinion a surrender of this principle must in the end mean war. Finally, Sir Norman's closing paragraphs sum up in our opinion a realistic view of the fight for peace.

We recommend "Peace with the Dictators" to those who are willing to honestly face facts and, especially, to those who desire some guidance from one who has consistently maintained his position and been just as consistently proven right. We do not agree with all in the book, but it would be a poor book indeed with which everyone agreed in full.

—JOHN W. COPITHORNE.

Ends Without Adequate Means

SOCIALISM ON THE DEFENSIVE: Norman Thomas; Musson (Harpers); 299 pp.

THAT Socialism is on the defensive in the world today, there can be no doubt. That it is on the defensive (in part at least) because of the disunity among those who be-

lieve with Mr. Thomas "that only in socialism is there plenty and peace, freedom and fellowship for mankind," there can be equally little doubt. That the disunity has been brought about by differences of opinion regarding the best means of achieving agreed ends, seems equally clear; and herein lies the great value of Mr. Thomas' re-enunciation of his beliefs, for he would seem to be travelling the same road as Mr. Aldous Huxley, by affirming that ends and means are one. For him there can be no short-cut to socialism by any of the totalitarian methods (such as the U.S.S.R. uses) for by accepting them as means you destroy the desired end.

It is interesting to speculate on the ultimate effect on the socialist movement of Mr. Aldous Huxley's brilliant social thinking, for already in this book, one is left with the feeling that the logical conclusion of Mr. Thomas' chain of reasoning is that socialism is no longer a political movement but a philosophic and educational process. It is not a party with a program but a way of life.

That is not to say that Mr. Thomas reaches this conclusion: on the contrary, he examines the political systems of Europe, with his touchstone of coincidental ends and means, and with his own superlatively clear-sighted honesty, in the feeling to discover what the working class political organizations of America must attempt, and what they must avoid.

Things to be avoided include, Popular Fronts (except defensively and then only as a last resort against fascism), any of the various doctrines of force (again with a similar, if less satisfactorily phrased, proviso) and any even temporary tampering with civil liberty. The thing to be attempted is to build a working class organization which will bring the socialist state into being, without falling into any of those errors which will destroy the unity of ends and means.

Parts of the book are exasperating in that the politician in Mr. Thomas seems to fail to see (with his analytical clarity) the implications of his own philosophical trend, notably in his chapter on Militarism and War. The conclusions are chiefly interesting (many will find them disappointing) in that they are clearly counsels of perfection and not recognizably a party platform.

"More and more truly I am persuaded," he says, "that our problem is psychological rather than strictly a problem of economic and political organization." That problem has not been fully clarified by him as yet, even though he has widened in some measure the horizons of the socialist objective. We are almost certain to see Mr. Thomas before long at the psychological barricade.

—G. ANDREWS.

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Comparative Literature

FROM EDMUND SPENSER TO ALAN SEEGER: Ferdin- and Baldensperger; Harvard University Press; pp. 104; \$1.25.

AMONG scholars Professor Baldensperger has long been revered as a founding father in the field of "comparative literature." That he is entitled to the respect of laymen as well, however, this book will make clear. Unlike many of his colleagues, Baldensperger has found in comparative literature something more than an opening for desiccative research. A regard for broader implications, a sort of aggressive humanism, underlie most of his projects. Here is an attempt to make available in careful French translation some of the masterpieces of English verse from Edmund Spenser on. A good many readers will regret the choice of such moderns as Josephine Preston Peabody, R. Middleton, Agnes Lee, or Alan Seeger. Others may doubt the efficacy of translating the Spoon River pieces into regular verse. Perhaps most will complain the lack of any index. In a collection of this scope such disappointments are inevitable. It is agreeably shocking to receive a book from the Harvard University Press with a bold grammatical error in large print on its front cover. (Cents Petits Poemes Anglais Traduits En Vers Francais.) But they have atoned by paraphrasing to honest advantage from their author's preface: "... there is implicit in the volume a creative criticism that will illuminate for many readers the familiar lines of these poems."

—E. M. MAISEL.

Penguins

BRITAIN BY MASS-OBSERVATION: Charles Madge and Tom Harrison; pp. 246; 20c.

THEY BETRAYED CZECHOSLOVAKIA: G. L. George; pp. 186; 20c.

I WAS HITLER'S PRISONER: Stefan Lorant; pp. 278; 20c (all three Penguin Specials, Collins in Canada).

THE Penguin and Pelican Series are now widely established and a great boon to readers with a light purse. These three continue to give amazing value at one tenth of the usual price. The first on this list gives some of the results of Mass-Observation in Britain—an organization that digests the reports of more than 1,500 observers on the reactions of the man in the street, whose ways and opinions, the authors claim, are almost unknown not only to scientists and intellectuals but even to journalists and politicians. The result is depressing but fascinating reading. Most topical and interesting is that third of the book which analyses the poor man's opinions, fluctuating from day to day and almost hour to hour, during the September crisis. This should be compulsory reading for our pro-Chamberlain imperialists. The rest deals with all-in wrestling, the Lambeth walk, and other topics rightly claimed to be relevant to an understanding of English democracy. The resulting picture is one of bewilderment on political issues, due to lack of information largely fostered by those in authority—perhaps the greatest danger to democracy.

"They Betrayed Democracy" is the story of the September crisis from hour to hour in Prague, Paris, London and Hitler. The author is still a Czech journalist and thus writing under a pseudonym. The moves and counter-moves are all here. The book is bitter, though the bitterness is rarely directed against individuals, with the possible exception of Bonnet, who is in any case gradually emerging as the villain of the peace. A British diplomat is quoted as saying: "If France makes war without asking us, we naturally join in.

If France asks us whether she should make war, of course we say no." There is also a useful chronological table at the end.

Unlike the other two, "I Was Hitler's Prisoner" is a reprint of a book originally reprinted in 1935. The author is an Hungarian who was held for six months in a Nazi jail. It is a day to day diary smuggled out of Germany by him, and has already been recognised as a moving and authentic document. It depicts vividly and without undue emphasis the cruelty and brutality of the Nazis, relieved at times by the embarrassed sympathy of the old prison warders. It is the kind of pathetic and horrible story to which we have become too terribly accustomed in the last five years.

—G. M. A. GRUBE.

BASIC ECONOMICS: Nicholas H. Selseth; Dorrance & Co.; pp. 248; \$2.50.

ABOOK that claims to uncover "a hitherto ignored fundamental law of economics... as fundamental a law of economics as the law of gravitation is of the universe" should be approached warily. Such a book is likely to prove unpalatable and ineffective as a patent medicine.

Mr. Selseth's particular panacea is a cure-all for economic depressions. The latter are caused, he asserts, by excessively long working hours in industry. In any given country, depending upon its standard of technological development, there is an optimum number of labour hours in the working week. This "fundamental law" seems to be based on the belief that consumption is incapable of expansion, yet there is no attempt to demonstrate this proposition. The only "proof" for the theory, in fact, is a rather sketchy effort to show that the depression was less violent in countries which maintained a short working week.

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My Cousin Mark Twain: By Cyril Clemens, with an introduction by Booth Tarkington; Rodale Press, Emmaus, Pa., 1939; \$2.00.

This is a disappointing book. It is not based on personal reminiscence and family legend, as the title might lead one to expect, nor does it contain new material from the carefully protected family archives. Mr. Cyril Clemens has been as dependent as any outsider upon the official volumes edited by Mr. A. B. Paine. Nor does he offer another interpretation of Mark Twain's curious and elusive personality. Rather he has been satisfied to tell the story of his external life, using dozens of illustrative anecdotes and brief passages of connective narration to fill out the book. The result is a superficial and unorganized work. Sometimes it would seem as if the numerous sections had first been written on filing cards and then arranged only in chronological order. Most disconcerting of all, however, is the discovery which the reader makes in the last two chapters, that a cousin of Mark Twain could have so little sense of humour. The account of the interview with Mussolini and the solemn correspondence with the recipients of the Mark Twain medal is as funny as anything in the book.

—J. R. McGillivray.

Poems: Alvin Foote; Copp Clark (Caxton); pp. 78; \$1.50.

Alvin Foote is definitely conscious of the manifold ills that afflict this poor old world, but he's not quite sure what is to be done about it. Would that all his ideas were as clear as the type in which they are set, for if nothing else this is rather a fine example of book making. And yet Mr. Foote has real ability. His descriptive passages are as

revealing as a candid camera with scenes that leave the reader with a sense of having viewed a landscape from the window of a moving train.

"Three miles from my town is a barn new painted,
Colored to be clean, the farmer
having learned.

His house is barren of children but
his land

Is fertile enough to lessen his
alarm."

It is among the hills, the fields, and the mountain streams that Mr. Foote is happy. These are the things he understands. "The Huntsmen," one of his longer poems, is splendid in parts, but interspersed with passages that remind one of the annual message of the spinner president of the village S.P.C.A.

Economical, yes almost parsimonious with words is Mr. Foote, and in this lies his strength and his weakness. Pictures can be drawn with a few clear-cut lines, but social ideas require a more liberal use of language—and so as an etcher of pictures he succeeds, as a social reformer he is unconvincing.

—Mark G. Cohen.

BOOKS RECEIVED

(Mention in this list does not preclude review in this or a later issue.)

Canada Today: F. R. Scott; (Second Edition Revised); Oxford Press; pp. 184; \$1.25.

The French Canadians Today: Wilfred Bovey; Dent; pp. 262; \$3.00.

Return to the Baltic: Hilaire Belloc; Macmillan (Constable); pp. 192; \$4.00.
Inside Red China: Nym Wales; Doubleday Doran; pp. 356; \$3.50.

Portrait of a Chef: Helen Morris; Macmillan (Cambridge); pp. 221; \$3.50.

The Literary Life and the Hell With It: Whit Burnett; Musson (Harpers); pp. 276; \$3.00.

The Death of the Heart: Elizabeth Bowen; Ryerson (Knopf); pp. 418; \$2.50.

Mrs. Warrenden's Profession: G.D.H. & M. Cole; Macmillan; pp. 334; \$2.25.

The Music of Language: J. Campbell McInnes; Frederick Harris Co.; pp. 92; \$1.00.

Uncle Lawrence: Oliver Warner; Macmillan (Chatto & Windus); pp. 155; \$1.65.

The History of An Autumn: Christopher Morley; Lippincott; pp. 81; \$1.00.

The Placing of Children in Families: League of Nations, 2 Vols., pp. 154 and 241; 75c and \$1.25.

Survey of National Nutrition Policies, 1937-1938; League of Nations; pp. 120; 60c.

Labour Courts; International Survey of Judicial Systems for Settlement of Disputes, I.L.O. Geneva; pp. 220; \$1.25.

Co-operation At Home and Abroad: C. R. Fay; P. S. King (London); pp. 540; 18/.

Penguin Series: Collins in Canada:
What Hitler Wants: E. O. Lorimer; pp. 188; 20c.

Britain By Mass Observation: Charles Madge and Tom Harrison; pp. 246; 20c.

They Betrayed Czechoslovakia: G. J. George; pp. 186; 20c.

I Was Hitler's Prisoner: Stephen Loraunt; pp. 278; 20c.

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(From A. J. M. Smith's sharply critical essay on Canadian Literature in the UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO QUARTERLY, January, 1939)



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